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EXTRACTS
FROM
A JOURNAL,
WRITTEN
ON THE COASTS OF
CHILI, PERU, AND MEXICO,
IN THE YEARS
1820, 1821, 1822,
BY
CAPTAIN BASIL HALL,
ROYAL NAVY.
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

FOURTH EDITION.

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Chile

— of the Government

Chile of the Republic

Chile—Forest of Santa Clara

Chile—Forest

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PREFACE.

THE following Work contains literally what the title-page expresses, Extracts from a Journal written at very momentous periods, during short professional visits to the principal ports on the western coasts of South America and Mexico.

It has no pretensions whatever to be considered as a detailed account of those countries. But, at the present moment, when everything connected with the New World engages so great a share of public attention, it was thought that a few characteristic sketches, by an eye-witness, of the progress of the revolutions, and of the

state of society, domestic and political, in regions so little known, might be favourably received ; as tending to give more correct ideas respecting them than have hitherto prevailed.

From various nautical and scientific researches, which have already appeared in the Philosophical Transactions, or formed the subject of official reports to the Admiralty, a short Memoir on the Navigation of those seas has been selected, and added in an Appendix ; together with a Chart of his Majesty's ship Conway's tracks during the voyage. These may be found amusing by some readers, and useful to professional men.

Edinburgh, 1st April 1824.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

FOURTH EDITION.

SINCE the first publication of these Extracts, a change has been made in the order of the Chapters, by transferring the account of the Spanish Colonial System, since corrected and enlarged, from the Second to the First Volume, an arrangement better suited to the course of the narrative.

To the Chapter on the Mexican Revolution, is now added an account of the circumstances connected with the death of Iturbide, the unfortunate Ex-Emperor of that country.

Several new Extracts have been inserted at different places in the body of the Work ; and some additions made to the Appendix.

In the absence of more minute geological information, for obtaining which the nature of the voyage allowed no leisure, it is thought right simply to give a List of the Minerals collected along the coast.

A brief notice respecting the Climate of the South American station, containing observations on the principal Diseases, and their mode of treatment, has been furnished by Mr GEORGE BIRNIE, Surgeon of the Conway.

In order to throw as much light as possible on the singular state, political and commercial, of South America at the period of this voyage, a sketch is given in the Appendix, of the arduous and complicated duties which, antecedent to the ap-

pointment of Consuls and Political Agents, devolved entirely on the Naval Commander-in-Chief.

This sketch lately appeared in MARSHALL'S Naval Biography, a Work of great merit.

Edinburgh, 20th December 1824.

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EXTRACTS

FROM

A JOURNAL.

CHAPTER I.

CHILI.

PASSAGE OF CAPE HORN—ARRIVAL AT VALPARAISO—
VISIT TO SANTIAGO, THE CAPITAL OF CHILI.

His Majesty's ship Conway, under my command, sailed from England on the 10th of August 1820 ; and having touched at Teneriffe, Rio de Janeiro, and the River Plate, received orders to proceed to Valparaiso, the principal sea-port on the coast of Chili.

The passage round Cape Horn has acquired such celebrity in nautical history, from the difficulties encountered by Anson, that no one, ac-

quainted with the popular narrative of his voyage, can approach the spot without some degree of interest. The progress of improvement in navigation and seamanship has, indeed, stripped the Cape of most of its terrors; and the passage, which formerly cost so much labour and suffering, is now performed with comparative ease and certainty. But there is still left enough of romance about this great promontory to excite no inconsiderable curiosity: and, accordingly, on the evening of the 25th of November, all eyes were anxiously directed towards the west, in which quarter the Cape was situated. Several groups of the more curious amongst the officers were perched at the mast heads, with telescopes and sketch-books in their hands, ready to take advantage of the first glimpse of the land. Others, whose energy did not equal their curiosity, mounted a few steps of the rigging, and came down again; saying they would see it quite as well in the morning without trouble. The sailors, in the mean time, habitually indifferent to every thing of this nature, amused themselves with a noisy game of leap-frog along the deck.

Meanwhile the sun set, and our anxiety lest we should not discover land before night, increased every moment; but towards the end of the long summer twilight, the looked-for Cape, to our great joy, appeared in the western horizon; where the outline of the land, distant about fifty or sixty miles, was for a short time distinctly pencilled on the sky, still lighted up by the last rays of the setting sun; but was soon lost sight of in the darkness.

The night had scarcely closed in, when a new and unexpected object engaged our attention: a brilliant light in the north-western quarter, shining at regular intervals. At first of a bright red, it became fainter and fainter, till it disappeared altogether; after the lapse of four or five minutes, its brilliancy was suddenly restored, and it seemed as if a column of burning materials had been projected into the air. This bright appearance lasted from ten to twenty seconds, fading by degrees as the column became lower, till at length only a dull red mass was distinguishable for about a minute, after which it again vanished. Many conjectures were raised as to the cause of this in-

termittig light. The seamen at once set it down as a revolving light-house, to which, certainly, it bore no inconsiderable resemblance. Others insisted that it must be a forest on fire ; accounting for the changes in brilliancy by flaws of wind fanning the flames. But all who examined the light carefully through a telescope, agreed in considering it a volcano like Stromboli, emitting from time to time jets of flame and of red-hot stones, which, falling on the sides of the mountain, retained for a short space a visible redness.

This singular light continued visible until morning, but faded away with the first appearance of dawn ; and although, during the night, it seemed not above eight or ten miles distant, to our surprise, no land was now distinguishable in the direction of the volcano : and we found, by means of bearings taken with the compass, that it actually was upwards of a hundred miles from the ship, on the main land of Tierra del Fuego. It is not improbable, that a similar volcano may have led Magellan to give the title, Land of Fire, to this desolate region.

By six o'clock in the morning of the 26th of

November, we had approached within ten or twelve miles of Cape Horn ; and in sailing round to enter the Pacific, had an opportunity of seeing it on a variety of bearings. Under every aspect, it presents a bold and majestic appearance, worthy of the limit to such a Continent. It is a high, precipitous, black rock, conspicuously raised above all the neighbouring land, utterly destitute of vegetation, and extending far into the sea in bleak and solitary grandeur.

As little interest would be taken in the details of a voyage unaccompanied by hardships or dangers, it may be sufficient here to state, that, after struggling for a fortnight against the prevalent westerly winds, during which we reached at one time the latitude of 62° south, we succeeded in getting sufficiently far into the Pacific, to be able to haul to the northward, and to steer a direct course for Chili, without apprehension of being again driven towards the land about Cape Horn ; an embarrassment in which the early voyagers were frequently involved.

In justice, however, to those persevering men, it is right to explain, that in their day the state

of nautical science was such, that the most able and vigilant navigator could do little more than guess his place on the globe, and was, therefore, at all times liable to commit the most fatal errors in shaping his course ; while, in consequence of the more extended application of astronomy to navigation, the use of time-keepers, and the great improvement of other nautical instruments, the modern seaman is enabled to traverse the ocean with confidence, and without risk of being misled by currents and other sources of erroneous reckoning, which perpetually distracted the voyagers of old.

On the 19th of December we anchored in the Bay of Valparaiso, the principal port on the coast of Chili, having occupied thirty-eight days in the passage from the River Plate.

After a perilous and protracted voyage, seamen are ready to consider any coast delightful ; and it was probably from such a cause that the early Spanish adventurers named this place the Vale of Paradise, a designation which its present appearance by no means justifies. The Bay is of a semicircular form, surrounded by steep hills,

rising nearly to the height of two thousand feet, sparingly covered with stunted shrubs, and thinly strewn grass. The town is built along a narrow strip of land, between the cliffs and the sea ; but as this space is limited in extent, the buildings have straggled up the sides and bottoms of the numerous ravines which intersect the hills. A suburb called the Almendral, or Almond Grove, larger than the town itself, spreads over a low sandy plain about half a mile broad, at the upper or eastern side of the Bay. In the summer months, from November till March, Valparaiso is a safe and pleasant anchorage ; but during winter, especially in June and July, is subject to occasional hard storms, blowing from the north, in which direction it is open to the sea.

We were fortunate in having reached Valparaiso at a moment when the Christmas festivities were at their height ; and multitudes of people had been attracted from the country to witness the bull-fights and other shows. On the evening of Christmas day, which corresponds nearly with our Midsummer, every body had strolled abroad to

enjoy the cool air in the moonlight. Groups of merry dancers were seen at every turn,—and crowds of people listening to singers bawling out their old romances to the sound of a guitar ; gay parties sauntered along, laughing and talking at the full stretch of their voices ; wild-looking horsemen pranced about in all quarters, mixing amongst the people on foot, drinking and talking with them, but never dismounting. From one extremity of the town to the other, in short, along the base of the cliffs, and all round the beach of the Almen-dral, there was one uninterrupted scene of noise and revelry.

The bull-fights, which took place about four o'clock in the day, resembled any thing rather than fights ; but they made the people laugh, which was the principal object ; and by bringing a crowd together in a merry mood, certainly contributed quite as much to the general happiness, as if they had been exhibited in the usual sanguinary manner.

The area in which the bulls were baited was a square enclosure or quadrangle, formed by a temporary building about fifty yards across, rude-

ly constructed of posts driven into the ground, wattled across with green boughs, and roofed with planks. Over two sides of the square there was erected a second story, divided into separate compartments by flags and various coloured cloths, and left open at top, and in front. These were crowded with ladies and children, all in their gayest attire, and seated with much formality and decorum to witness the show. The scene in the ground-floor, which was divided into booths called Ramadas, was of a very different description : here was dancing, singing, drinking, and all kinds of noise and bustle. Previous to the commencement of the bull-fight, the area was filled with people, some lounging about smoking their segars, and admiring the ladies' dresses ; and some risking their money at Rouge et Noir, for which there were many tables brought from the booths into the open air. But the principal amusement was within the Ramadas, in each of which was to be found a band of musicians and dancers hired to attract company. The musical instruments were invariably a harp, a guitar, and a sort of drum. The harp, which is small and light, is held in a

different manner from ours ; for, instead of standing erect, it is kept in a horizontal position, the top of the instrument resting on the lap of the player, who is seated on a low stool. The drum is made of a piece of wood hollowed out, and covered at one end with raw hide. This stands on the ground, and is patted with the fingers, while the wrist rests upon the rim. At times the end of the harp, the empty guitar box, or any thing, indeed, which gives a clear hollow sound, is used as a substitute for the drum. The performers in general are also singers ; and the voice mingles more or less, at all times, with the instrumental music. They sing mostly in a high shrill tone, disagreeable at first to a stranger ; but in the course of a little time it recommends itself to his ear, in a manner which his judgment scarcely allows to be just. Occasionally, when they sing in a lower tone, their notes are very sweet and pleasing ; this, however, is perhaps owing to the accidental good taste of the singer, rising superior to the general practice of the country ; for it is not frequent, and when it does occur is never applauded.

The bull-fights were very boyish exhibitions, and deserve no particular description. The animals, in fact, were never killed, but merely teased by horsemen, who goaded them with blunt spears ; or they were distracted by men on foot, who waved flags in their faces, and, as soon as the bulls were irritated, and ran after them, escaped over the railings into the Ramadas.

The chief interest, to us at least, lay in the people, whose various dresses we were never tired of looking at, while the interpretation of their strange language gave us ample occupation ; for although they all professed to speak Spanish, their dialect was strongly marked with a local idiom and pronunciation. Every thing indeed was new to us, and partook more or less of a characteristic air ; but it is not easy to describe such scenes ; chiefly from their want of resemblance to any thing we have before witnessed.

In the course of the first evening of these festivities, while I was rambling about the streets with one of the officers of the ship, our attention was attracted by the sound of music, to a crowded pulperia or drinking-house. We accordingly

entered, and the people immediately made way for us, and gave us seats at the upper end of the apartment. We had not sat long before we were startled by the loud clatter of horses' feet, and, in the next instant, a mounted peasant dashed into the company, followed by another horseman, who, as soon as he reached the centre of the room, adroitly wheeled his horse round, and the two strangers remained side by side, with their horses' heads in opposite directions. Neither the people of the house, nor the guests, nor the musicians, appeared in the least surprised by this visit; the lady who was playing the harp merely stopped for a moment, to remove the end of the instrument a few inches further from the horses' feet, and the music and conversation went on as before. The visitors called for a glass of spirits, and having chatted with their friends around them for two minutes, stooped their heads to avoid the cross piece of the door-way, and, putting spurs to their horses' sides, shot into the streets as rapidly as they had entered;—the whole being done without discomposing the company in the smallest degree.

I met at the Ramadas, upon another occasion, a family to whose kind intentions we are all much indebted, especially for their assistance in explaining the native customs. We visited together many of the booths, and had an opportunity of seeing more of the dancing than on the first night. One of the most favourite figures begins in a manner not unlike our minuet, with slow and apparently unpremeditated movements, the parties approaching and receding from each other, occasionally joining hands, swinging themselves round, and sometimes stooping, so as to pass under each other's arms. These figures, while they admit of the display of much ease and grace, inevitably betray any awkwardness of manner. The slow movements last a minute or two, after which the measure suddenly changes from a dull monotonous tune to a quick and varied air, loudly accompanied by the drum and a full chorus of shrill voices. At this instant the two dancers commence a sort of shuffling step, during which the feet do not slide, but rather stamp with great rapidity on the ground. The dancers then dart forward towards each other, waving their

handkerchiefs affectedly before them. They do not actually meet, but, when almost touching, pass, and continue to revolve round each other, in circles larger or smaller, according to the space allowed ; accompanying these rotatory motions by various gesticulations, especially that of waving their handkerchiefs over their partner's heads. There was a striking difference between the manner in which these dances were performed by the town's people and by the Guassos or countrymen ; the latter having always the advantage both in skill and elegance.

These amusements lasted throughout the night, and, although the people are naturally temperate, it was evident, that towards morning the dances were apt to acquire a more savage character, and the songs to become licentious. But there were very few instances of intoxication or riotous behaviour. No women, except those professionally attached to the bands of music, ever dance in public ; but as the men of all classes join occasionally, the floor is seldom long unoccupied. More than one couple never stand up at the same time. Each figure lasts about three or four mi-

nutes ; after which the music stops for a few seconds, and is then resumed ; this is always repeated three times. The fondness of the populace for this amusement is excessive ; and I have often returned to one of the Ramadas after an interval of several hours, and have found the same people still looking on at the same dance with undiminished pleasure.

The climate, during these festivities, was generally agreeable ; for in the day-time the thermometer ranged from 62° to 64° ; and at night, from 59° to 62° ; between half-past ten and three in the day, however, it was sometimes unpleasantly hot. Whenever the morning broke with a perfectly clear sky overhead, and the sun rose unconcealed by haze, and when also the horizon in the offing was broken into a tremulous or tumbling line, as it is called ; a very hard southerly wind was sure to set in about one o'clock, blowing directly over the high ridge of hills encircling the town. These gusts, forced into eddies and whirlwinds, bore the sand in pyramids along the streets, drove it into the houses, and sometimes even reached the ships, covering every thing with dust.

About sunset these very troublesome winds gradually died away, and were succeeded by a calm, which lasted during the night. From sunrise of these days, till the hour when the gale commenced, there never was a breath of wind ; or if the surface of the bay was occasionally ruffled, it was only here and there by those little transient puffs, which seamen distinguish by the name of cats-paws.

On the other hand, when the morning broke with clouds, and the atmosphere was filled with haze, a moderate breeze generally followed during the day, sometimes from one quarter, sometimes from another ; and on such occasions we were always spared the annoyance of the southerly gales.

These varieties take place only in summer. During the winter months, that is, when the sun is to the northward of the Equator, the weather is very unsettled. Hard northerly gales blow for days together, accompanied by heavy rains, and a high swell, which, rolling in from the ocean, renders the anchorage unsafe for shipping ; and, by raising a vast surf on the beach, cuts off all communication between the shore and the vessels

at anchor. These gales, however, are not frequent. At that season the air is cold and damp, so that the inhabitants are glad to have fires in their houses. Charcoal generally is used, in a large polished brazier placed in the middle of the floor, round which the family range themselves, with their feet resting on its edge. In the houses of the English, and other foreign residents, substantial fire-places have been substituted for the braziers, and coals are used. Of this material there is an abundant supply from Concepcion, a port situated about 200 miles to the southward of Valparaiso. At present it is taken from a thick seam which crops out at the surface, and, as the quality is good, it will probably, at some future period, be turned to great account.

30th of Dec.—As there was much to be learnt of the habits of the people at the night assemblies in the Ramadas, I made a practice of going there every evening. It was particularly amusing to watch, unobserved, the groups round the gambling tables in the middle of the area. A single candle, placed on the table, threw a light on the countenances and picturesque dresses of

the players, which exhibited, in a striking manner, the variety of expression peculiarly belonging to such scenes. A party of these gamblers detected me upon one occasion, and insisted good humouredly that I should try my fortune. By accident the ball rested several times successively on the same square, which raised the odds on my casts to a considerable amount ; I took all the bets that were offered, and, in the end, won a handful of silver, principally from the people who had been most active in persuading me to play. Their companions joined me in laughing at them a little ; but I thought it better, all things considered, to insist upon returning the money ; for which I was laughed at in my turn ; but we parted all the better friends.

A Chilean gentleman of my acquaintance lived close to the bull-ring, and parties used frequently to be made up at his house to go to the Chinganas, the general name given to the scenes described above. After chatting together for some time one evening at this house, the gentlemen of the party went off to the bull-ring, while the ladies excused themselves for not accompanying us,

pretending to have business at home. But within a quarter of an hour afterwards, while we were lounging about in one of the most noisy of the Ramadas, it was intimated to me privately, by a gentleman in the secret, that three of the ladies we had left were actually in our company; but so completely metamorphosed, that, even when pointed out, they were with difficulty recognized. Thus made party to the joke, I soon found they came as spies upon the proceedings of the master of the house, the husband of one of these Tapadas, as they called themselves. There had been a feud, it seemed, between these ladies and some others of their acquaintance, and the object of this Escapo, or frolic, was to watch how the gentleman would deport himself toward their foes. The ladies, accordingly, had the satisfaction, or the mortification, to detect him in treacherous flirtation with the enemy; this established, they allowed themselves to be discovered, to the confusion of the unsuspecting parties, and immediately disappeared. The next day we learnt that the ladies had returned again, in about ten minutes afterwards, differently disguised, and had amused themselves

in watching the motions of such of us as had been formerly admitted to their confidence, and who were still chuckling over the success of the first exploit. I attempted, next evening, to pass a similar jest upon them, and disguised myself with great care ; but their practised eyes were not to be deceived, and they saw through it at the first glance.

The merchants and other principal inhabitants reside in the houses built along the base of the cliffs in Valparaiso, and along the streets of the Almendral. But the poorer people live chiefly in the Quebradas, or ravines. This class of society has been the least affected by the changes in the political state of the country, and retained, as we were informed, nearly the same manners and habits as before ; a circumstance which gave them a higher interest to us ; and induced us frequently to rove about, in the cool hours of the evening, amongst their ranchos, or cottages. We were every where received with the utmost frankness, and, as far as the simple means of the inhabitants went, with hospitality. They were chiefly brick-makers, day-labourers, and washerwomen, who

were always gratified by the interest we took in their affairs, replying readily and cheerfully to our inquiries. Their first anxiety was that we should be seated, in order, to use their phrase, that we might "feel ourselves in our own house." Their next wish was that we should taste something, no matter how little ; some offering us spirits, or milk and bread ; others, who could afford nothing else, presenting a cup of water. Yet, however wretched the cottage, or poor the fare, the deficiency was never made more apparent by apologies : with untaught politeness, the best they had was placed before us, graced with a hearty welcome.

These ranchos, as well as the houses in the town, are built of large flat bricks dried in the sun ; and thatched with broad palm leaves, the ends of which, by overhanging the walls, afford shade from the scorching sun, as well as shelter from the rain. Each cottage is divided into two rooms ; one for the beds, and the other as a dining-room ; a portion of the mud floor in this apartment is always raised seven or eight inches above the level of the other parts, and being co-

vered with mats, serves as a couch for the siesta sleepers after dinner.

In one cottage we found a young woman grinding corn in a very primitive mill, which consisted of two stones, one a large grooved block placed on the ground, the other polished, and about twice the size of her hand. The unground corn appeared to be baked till it could be crumbled into powder between the finger and thumb; this coarse flour, when mixed with water, made an agreeable drink called Ulpa.

In some of the Quebradas, we occasionally discovered houses of a better class, generally occupied by elderly ladies of small incomes, who had relinquished the fashionable and expensive parts of the town, for more remote, though not less comfortable dwellings. Nothing could exceed the neatness and regularity which prevailed in these houses; where we were often received by the inmates with a politeness of manners, indicating that they had known better days. These good ladies generally entertained us with the celebrated Paraguay tea, called Mattee, a beverage of which the inhabitants are passionately fond. Before infusion, the

Yerba, as it is called, has a yellow colour, and appears partly ground, and partly chopped ; the flavour resembles that of fine tea, to which, indeed, many people prefer it. The mattee is made in an oval-shaped metal pot, about twice as large as an egg-cup, placed nearly full of water, on the hot embers of the brazier, which always stands in the middle of the parlour ; when the water begins to boil, a lump of sugar burnt on the outside is added. The pot is next removed to a filagree silver stand, on which it is handed to the guest, who draws the mattee into his mouth through a silver pipe seven or eight inches in length ; furnished, at the lower extremity, with a bulb pierced with small holes. The natives drink it almost boiling hot, and it costs a stranger many a tear before he can imitate them in this practice. There is one custom in these mattee drinkings, to which, though not easily reconcileable to our habits, a stranger must not venture to object. However numerous the company be, or however often the mattee pot be replenished, the tube is never changed ; and to decline taking mattee, because the tube had been previously used, would be

thought the height of rudeness. A gentleman of my acquaintance, becoming very fond of this beverage, bought a tube for himself, and carried it constantly in his pocket ; but this gave so much offence, that he was eventually obliged to throw away his private bombilla, as it is called, and follow the customs of the country.

The people in general, and particularly the peasantry, and the lower orders in the outskirts of the town, appeared to us much better bred than the corresponding ranks in other countries. In their domestic circle, they were at all times remarkably polite to one another ; the children being respectful and attentive, and the parents considerate and indulgent. But this was conspicuous only at home ; for, when abroad, the men were very negligent of good manners ; and, although actual rudeness was contrary to their nature, they were, in general, careless of the wishes of the women, and never sought opportunities of obliging them, nor seemed to take any pleasure in being useful on trivial occasions. This habitual inattention on the part of the young men rendered the women, in some degree, distrustful of the civility with

which strangers, as a matter of course, treated them ; and, at first, we often observed a look of embarrassment and doubt when we paid them the most ordinary attention.

The state of education at Valparaiso was very low, and in this respect the men had the advantage. The refinement, however, was all with the other sex ; in knowledge of the world, in sound judgment, and in every thing relative to manners, they were clearly superior to the men.

For some time after arriving at Valparaiso, our attention was much engrossed by the scenes at the bull-fights, and we became well acquainted with the habits and opinions of the lower classes. There seemed, indeed, little probability of such an opportunity occurring again, and, therefore, all of us who took an interest in such inquiries mixed with the natives every evening. This was the more agreeable, as there was nothing coarse or vulgar in their manners ; on the contrary, a bold and rather graceful address characterised all their deportment. To us they were uniformly respectful, and always willing to communicate or receive information.

Our curiosity was naturally directed towards politics, and, knowing that we should eventually have ample opportunities of learning the state of political feeling in the upper classes, we occupied ourselves, upon this occasion, in ascertaining the sentiments of the peasantry. At first we were rather disappointed with their calmness, and wondered to hear them speaking with so little enthusiasm, and in terms so little vindictive of the Spaniards; while we remarked that the upper classes, in the same town, were filled with animation when the subject was mentioned, and never allowed themselves to think of their ancient rulers without expressing the bitterest animosity.

It must, however, be remembered that, with regard to the effects of this Revolution, the upper and lower classes were differently circumstanced. The peasant's station in society had not been materially changed by the subversion of the Spanish authority; while that of his landlord was essentially altered in almost every point. The lower orders here, as in all countries, are not those who feel most sensibly the oppression of bad government; and although, unquestionably, their pro-

sperity must, in process of time, be greatly augmented by the operation of such wholesome changes, their immediate benefit cannot be so direct or manifest as that of the upper classes.

In Chili, while the peasant remains nearly as before, his superior has gained many advantages. He has obtained political independence; he is free, and secure in his person and property; for the first time in his life, he has a share in the government of his country; he may aspire to the highest offices of profit or distinction; the value of his property is enhanced by the market which has been opened to carry off its produce; and he feels no reserve in displaying his wealth, or in expressing his opinions; in short, he is in possession of civil liberty.

The benefits resulting from free trade, as compared with the restrictions and monopolies of old, are those which come home the soonest to the apprehension of all ranks; and, although it cannot be denied, that even the lowest peasant in the country has felt the change which the Revolution has produced on the price of goods, yet the advantage to the upper classes has been much more extensively felt; for they are not only greater

purchasers, but have more home produce to give in exchange. All classes, therefore, both high and low, share, though not equally, in the benefits resulting from the change of government; and this universality of advantage is the characteristic circumstance, which, with one exception, (that of the United States,) distinguishes the South American from all other revolutions with which we are acquainted. These are real and solid advantages. That they should be fully understood, or even appreciated at once, is too much to expect; and many errors and extravagances will be committed before such blessings can have their full effect: but as they are of a nature to work themselves clear, if left alone, every successive hour of freedom will have the effect of enlarging the circle of knowledge and virtue throughout the country.

On the 6th of January 1821, I set out for Santiago, the capital of Chili, in company with a naval officer, who, having been several years on the South American station, proved a most useful guide, both from his knowledge of the country, and from his general information. As the roads in Chili are ill adapted for carriages, nearly all the travelling is on horseback, the ordinary pace

being a hand gallop, and the change of horses becomes necessarily frequent. The only wheeled vehicle in common use is a large lumbering cart, or waggon, drawn by six or eight oxen, at a very slow rate; but the transport of goods from the port to the capital, and thence all over the country, is performed almost entirely by mules of an excellent breed. Some rich families occasionally travel in coaches of an antiquated form. An enterprising North American, indeed, established a stage-coach from the port to the capital in 1821; but it was maintained with great difficulty, in consequence of the extreme badness of the roads.

Our journey was injudiciously arranged; for, instead of taking one half of it early in the morning, and the other in the evening, we travelled in the middle of the day, when the heat, to which we were exposed, was intense. The whole country was burnt up; the sun flamed out with a bright glare over every thing, raising hot vapours from the ground like the breath of an oven; not a blade of grass was any where to be seen; not a drop of moisture; every thing was parched and withered along the baked ground, which was riven into innumerable crevices; no breeze of wind came

to relieve us, and the heat was therefore intolerably oppressive.

In the course of the morning we passed several ridges of hills, and here and there the eye was gladdened by the sight of a slender strip of verdure, pointing out the course of some mountain stream. Between the ridges, which rose to the height of several thousand feet, we observed plains, surrounded by the high grounds, suggesting the idea of lakes having once stood there.

On crossing one of these ranges, we discovered a party of muleteers, who had sought shelter from the heat of the sun, under a grove of lofty trees, on a patch of grass by the side of a rivulet, which dashed from rock to rock, giving a delicious freshness to the air, and verdure to all around it. The mules, to the number of fifty, were arranged in a circle, each tied by the halter to his load, placed on the ground. The muleteers begged us to dismount and join their party, giving us, at the same time, some of their cool ulpa to drink, and endeavouring to dissuade us from proceeding till the sun should be lower; advice we ought certainly to have followed, for we suffered severely by the heat before reaching Bustamante, where we dined. This

being one of the post-houses, the people were prepared to receive us, and placed our dinner table in the door-way, that we might enjoy the draught from the cool breeze just then setting in. Our repast consisted of a huge bowl of large black figs, and brimming tumblers of cold lemonade, the fragrance of which filled the whole house; besides newly baked, snow-white bread; with fresh butter; and instead of wine, when the cloth was removed, we sipped our pot of mattee. The kind people of the cottage entreated us to take our siesta before going farther; but having resolved upon reaching the capital that evening, we denied ourselves a luxury, more tempting now than it had ever appeared to us before.

About an hour before sunset we reached the summit of the last pass, from whence we commanded a full view of the Andes. We had previously seen their snowy peaks, but from a great way off, at sea; we had now, however, the satisfaction of viewing them uninterruptedly from the summit to the base, and at a distance calculated to give full effect to their height. The plain from which the great mountains take their rise not being much elevated above the sea, none of the altitude

of the ridges is lost, as it generally is when the surrounding country is itself very high. From the spot on which we stood we could count the various ranges, five or six in number, towering one above another, in magnificent irregularity. Nothing in mountain scenery could be finer, or, unfortunately, less within the reach of verbal description.

On our way across the plain towards the city, we overtook a party of soldiers conducting a number of Spanish prisoners of war towards the capital. They had been recently taken in battle in Peru, then the seat of war between the Chilians and Royalists. As there will be occasion, in the next chapter, to give some account of the rise and progress of the Chilian expedition against Peru, it is needless to dwell upon it at present. The pleasing train of reflections, however, suggested by the first good view of the Andes, was dispersed by this disagreeable and unexpected sight. It is painful, indeed, at all times, to see men in chains, be the punishment ever so just; but it is peculiarly so in the case of prisoners of war: and it was impossible not to feel for these men, whose only crime consisted in having faithfully adhered to the cause of their King.

We found the state of society in Santiago, as might be expected, superior to that of the Port. The inhabitants are wealthier and better educated, and know more of what is passing in other parts of the world; their manners are comparatively polished; they dress in a neater and more costly style; and they are much more commodiously and elegantly lodged. They resemble the inhabitants of Valparaiso, however, in their kindness to strangers, and, above all, in their indulgence and consideration for those who speak the language imperfectly. The city is divided into quadras, or solid squares, by streets crossing one another at right angles; the houses are flat roofed, and of one story only, with a neat parapet running along the front above the cornice; they are all white-washed, and the streets being kept perfectly clean, nothing can exceed the neatness of this most regular town. The houses are quadrangular, and all the rooms may be entered either from a square court in the middle, called the Patio, or by doors of communication leading from one to the other. The entrance to the Patio from the street is by a broad, and generally an orna-

mental porch, on either side of which are the stables and coach-house. The drawing and dining-room occupy that side of the Patio fronting the entrance, and the bed-rooms and counting-house the other two sides. In the hot season, an awning is drawn over the Patio, which contributes greatly to the coolness of the rooms. Behind every house lies a garden, beyond which runs a clear rapid stream.

7th of Jan.—I was introduced to a family this morning, long known to strangers for their hospitality and useful friendship. They were seated in the corner of a room, kept almost dark, with a view to the exclusion of the heat. It is the fashion of the country for the ladies to crowd into corners, or to plant themselves in determined lines along the walls, not a little formidable to strangers. Upon the present occasion, one of the ladies perceiving the conversation to be hurt by this arrangement, rose and went to the piano forte; the rest remained at their needle, as formal as ever, but presently some other visitors coming in, the parties became intermixed, and the stiffness, which had chilled us at first, yielded to a

more cheerful and familiar intercourse, which the young ladies encouraged with much spirit. Just as matters had fallen into this agreeable train, a merry-looking old gentleman came skipping into the room with a jest in his mouth, and the easy familiarity of a privileged person. He was a clergyman of seventy, but possessed the health and animation of seventeen, and cracked his jokes to the right and left without mercy, seeming determined to set the whole company at defiance. For some time, he carried all before him, and the adroit manner in which he quizzed every one without distinction was very diverting. At length, however, some of the young ladies rallied, and being rather nettled, perhaps, at some of his sarcasms coming too near the truth, retorted upon their tormentor very smartly, and even repaid him with interest. The good natured father, enchanted with their vivacity, stimulated them to fresh attacks by a ludicrous affectation of suffering under their severity. At length he took his leave, though unanimously entreated to remain.

We were curious to know who this old gen-

tleman was ; and learnt that he had been for upwards of fifty years the pastor of a remote Indian village, where he had acquired, by his talents and virtues, an extensive and important influence over the natives ; whose condition he had greatly improved, by converting them to Christianity, and introducing education, together with the arts of civil life.

In the evening, about sunset, every one flocked to the Alameda, or public walk ; called also the Tajamar, from one of its sides forming an embankment to prevent the inundation of the river Maypocho, a stream, insignificant in winter, but which becomes a violent torrent when the snows of the Andes begin to melt. This promenade consists of a wide and finely kept carriage way, with a broad walk on both sides of it, each of which walks is shaded by a double row of lofty poplars. Under these trees there stretches a low wall, on the parapet of which the ladies, who generally appear in full dress, spread their handkerchiefs with great care, and affected formality, before they venture to sit down. Every part of the walk commands a view of the magnificent Andes,

which, though not less than fifty or sixty miles distant, seem to overhang the town.

On the 9th of January, the capital was thrown into commotion by the arrival of news from the army in Peru, giving the details of various successes gained over the Royalists ; and such, it appeared, had become the popularity of the Independent cause, that a whole regiment of the King's troops had passed over from Lima in a body, and offered their services to the Patriots. So completely were the inhabitants of Santiago engrossed by this news, that nothing was thought of, or talked of for several days, but the Peruvian expedition. This state of things furnished us with frequent opportunities of discovering the public feeling on the general question of the Revolution ; for every one was delighted to converse on the subject, while the enthusiasm of the moment made it the most popular topic in all companies. The principal object of their thoughts, or that which they dwelt upon with the steadiest determination, was the preservation of their independence ; the next, a bitter animosity against their former rulers, the Spaniards ; a feeling sometimes

carried to a most unjust and unreasonable length. They often, for instance, blamed living individuals, and whole classes of individuals, for faults and errors with which they were in no respect chargeable, but which resulted from the slow operation of centuries of misrule. They even took delight in fostering and encouraging these prejudices, knowing them to be such—a species of wilful self-delusion, which, although indefensible in particular instances, may nevertheless in the long-run contribute essentially to the great cause of their country. The spirit which originally roused the South Americans to throw off the Spanish yoke is kept alive and active by ministering to such antipathies, and the people are thus prevented by their passions, as well as their interests, from slumbering at their posts, while their liberty and honour are still in hazard.

16th of Jan.—I had occasion to send a despatch to the naval Commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas M. Hardy, by an express which might be expected to reach Buenos Ayres from Santiago in twelve days: it is said, however, that the journey has, on some occasions, been made in eleven.

The distance is 1365 miles, so that the courier must travel, upon an average, about 114 miles a-day. This communication between Buenos Ayres and Chili has for some years been open ; and post-houses having been established along the whole line of road, the only difficulties in the journey arise from fatigue, bad lodging, and bad fare. At these stations horses are kept in constant readiness; the supply being maintained from the multitudes of wild droves covering the Pampas, or plains of Buenos Ayres, which extend from the sea to the base of the Andes. When gentlemen travel on this road, it is usual to make that part of the journey between the mountains and Buenos Ayres, along the level Pampas in a carriage : but the part lying amongst the Andes can be performed only on horses, or on mules. These couriers, who are bred to their business, as an exclusive occupation, are generally small and active men ; temperate in all their habits, and possessed of a spirit of enterprise and energy, which distinguishes them from the rest of their countrymen.

As soon as the despatches were sent off, I paid

a visit to a Chilian family of my acquaintance, and immediately on my entering the drawing-room, the lady of the house, and one of her daughters, each presented me with a rose, apologising, at the same time, for having omitted to do so before. This custom of presenting strangers with a flower prevails in all Spanish countries, and is one of an extensive class of minute attentions, which the Spaniards and their descendants understand better than any other nation. The favour itself is nothing ; indeed, it seems essential to the civility that the present should be a mere trifle ; the merit lies in the unaffected and simple expression of good will and kindness which, while it is really valuable to possess, is of a nature to impose no obligation.

Whilst we were thus establishing an agreeable acquaintance with the inhabitants of the capital, our intercourse was suddenly cut short by a circumstance which obliged me to return with my officers to the Port. Accounts had reached Santiago, that a French line-of-battle ship and a frigate had touched at Concepcion, and intended soon to visit Valparaíso. The arrival of such a

force at this moment, excited considerable sensation amongst the Chilians, many of whom entertained apprehensions of its object being hostile. Whatever might be the intention of the French Admiral towards the Chilians, I felt it right to be on board the Conway at the time of his arrival; and therefore lost not a moment in returning to Valparaiso. To quit the capital at this time was to me a matter of considerable regret, both on account of the agreeable society, and of the importance of cultivating the personal acquaintance of men with whom I was likely afterwards to hold official intercourse.

The independence of the South American states had not yet been acknowledged by England; neither had any consuls, or accredited political agents, been sent out. The commercial intercourse, however, between the two countries being already very extensive, and every day increasing, points of doubt often arose, which made it necessary to open frequent correspondence of a diplomatic and commercial nature with the various local governments. The only constituted authority on the part of England, in that quarter of the

globe, was the naval Commander-in-chief; and upon him necessarily devolved the whole responsibility of all these discussions. The task was one of great difficulty and importance, chiefly from the vast extent of his command, and the uncertainty and delay of all communications. The varying nature also of every political relation in those countries—the instability and inexperience of the governments—the agitated state of the public mind, with the consequent absence of mercantile confidence—the novelty, in short, of every institution—all conspired to complicate, in a remarkable degree, a subject at no time simple, or of easy management. Owing to the difficulty of communication between the different parts of the station, it became impossible for the Commander-in-chief to attend to the details of business at more than one spot: the ships of the squadron were therefore distributed at those points where the presence of a British authority was most essentially required, namely, Rio de Janeiro in Brazil; Buenos Ayres in the River Plate; Valparaiso in Chili; Lima in Peru; and San Blas on the coast of Mexico. There were, besides, many interme-

diate ports where the activity of our merchants had found means to introduce a taste for our manufactures ; and all these places required to be occasionally visited, that the British interest might not want protection.

Without going into details which might perhaps seem tedious, it would be difficult to give a comprehensive view of the various duties, which at this juncture devolved upon the captains of his Majesty's ships, stationed along the coast of South America, and Mexico. It may be sufficient to mention, that as the whole of the consulate affairs fell to their charge, every dispute which arose between British subjects and the local governments was necessarily carried on through them. This was rather a new class of obligations for naval officers, but it was one which, from their being the only disinterested individuals on the spot, they alone were qualified to undertake. The greater number of the misunderstandings alluded to arose out of commercial regulations, which the merchants complained of as oppressive ; sometimes they originated in the actual seizure of English vessels, on the plea that attempts were made to

introduce goods without paying the established duties ; sometimes the merchants were accused of concealing Spanish property in their ships ; at others the laws of the port, or of the country generally, were said to be infringed, the imputed delinquency being followed by imprisonment, or by confiscation of property. On these, and many other occasions, appeals to Government, from the captains of his Majesty's ships, were looked for : it was, however, their special duty merely to remonstrate, and, if possible, to arrange matters amicably, but on no occasion to threaten or to act hostilely without instructions from the Commander-in-chief, in reply to the representations made to him of all the circumstances. But, in almost every case, it was of immediate consequence to the advancement of the commercial interests, that such disputes as have been alluded to should be settled at the moment. The state of trade, indeed, and of every political circumstance in those countries, was liable to such perpetual fluctuation, that, long before an answer could be received from the Commodore, every thing material in the case might be altered. The impossibi-

lity of foretelling changes, or of estimating, with any precision, the probable effect of the great political convulsions by which the country was torn, rendered it a matter of extreme difficulty for the Commander-in-chief to give instructions to his officers, for whose proceedings, however, he was officially responsible. Still less, it may be supposed, could his Majesty's Government at home have any clear conception of what ought to be the details of management, in the midst of such a prodigious confusion of circumstances, varying every hour. In the end, it became obvious that the only method was, to make the officers well acquainted with the general principles by which their conduct was to be regulated, and to leave them afterwards, as a matter of absolute necessity, to act to the best of their judgment and ability, according to circumstances, but always in the spirit of their instructions. With every possible care, however, cases would sometimes occur, so difficult and complicated, as to seem utterly incapable of adjustment, without an extension of their powers. On such occasions, a reference to higher authority became indispensable.

The Port duties, on the other hand, were of an easier nature, relating chiefly to matters of difference between our own countrymen, and regulated, to a certain extent, by established written authorities, which might be referred to. As the number of merchant ships in harbour was generally considerable, these discussions became very engrossing, and, when superadded to our ordinary professional avocations, often left us little leisure for attending to the novel scenes of a local and characteristic nature, daily passing around us.

It will readily be understood how materially our objects, in the official intercourse above alluded to, were likely to be forwarded by a previous personal acquaintance with the parties on both sides of the question. For it often happened that both were to blame; and the only mode of adjustment, therefore, was by compromise, through the instrumentality of a disinterested third party, the success of whose interference would evidently depend very much upon his knowledge of the respective characters of the disputants. It was on this account, chiefly, that I wished to have remained

longer in the capital, to have seen more of the different members of Government, as well as to extend my acquaintance amongst the English residents, and the merchants of the country.

I reached Valparaiso before the French ships made their appearance, and was much struck with the ill-suppressed anxiety with which the inhabitants awaited the event. National pride forbade the expression of any alarm, but a knowledge of the defenceless state of the place filled them with very natural apprehension. Nothing, however, as the event proved, could be more unfounded than such fears ; for the Frenchmen, after a short and friendly visit, sailed away again, carrying off the hearts of half the ladies of the Port.

Previous to their departure the Governor gave a grand ball to the French Admiral and his officers ; and, without considering the size of his rooms, invited the whole beauty and fashion of the town to meet them. Many of the company, well known to be in indigent circumstances, and whose ordinary style of living was of the humblest description, surprised us by appearing in rich dresses, and wearing jewels of considerable value. There

is nothing, indeed, it seems, upon which the women of this country, especially those who are the least able to afford it, so much pique themselves as being able, upon great occasions, to dress splendidly ; and it is alleged that they often submit to many severe privations to attain this grand object of their vanity.

In the course of the evening, the room becoming close, I was glad to seek fresh air on the platform surrounding the Governor's house. Returning to the ball, I perceived an open door leading to an antichamber separated from the principal apartment by the hall where the music was stationed. On entering this room, I was struck by the appearance of several lady-like young women standing on chairs and straining their eyes, as they looked over the heads of the servants and musicians to catch a glimpse of the strangers in the ball-room, from which they appeared to be excluded. Seated on a sofa in the corner near them were two stately old ladies, simply though elegantly dressed : they did not appear to sympathize with their children in eagerness about the ball, but remained apart quietly

conversing together. In their countenances, which retained traces of considerable beauty, there dwelt a melancholy expression ; while their demeanour indicated a total indifference to all that was passing. On inquiry, I learnt that they were Old Spaniards, who under the former administration of the country, had been persons of wealth and consequence, but whose very existence was now scarcely known. The recent revolution had stripped them of their fortune and their rank ; and they were now living in such poverty and obscurity, as not to be thought worthy of an invitation to the ball.

Even so trifling a circumstance as this, if duly considered, leads the mind to reflect on the inevitable consequences of all violent political changes. On first arriving in South America, one is apt to be dazzled by the brilliancy of the spectacle, and to imagine that the good arising from the emancipation of the people must be without alloy. This delusive veil the successful party are extremely desirous of throwing over every thing. Experience, however, soon betrays the bitter workings of fortune under a great variety of shapes ; and it is a wholesome exercise, both to

the understanding and to the heart, to view such examples attentively when they happen to occur. In revolutionary times, especially, we may rest assured, that in the midst of the most enthusiastic public rejoicings, there will always be much secret grief entitled to consideration and respect. The incident above related was the first of its kind we had seen, and on that account perhaps, appeared more striking than most of the numberless instances of unmerited ruin and distress which we afterwards met with, every where following the footsteps of the Revolution.

18th of Jan.—I went in the evening to visit a family in the Almendral, or great suburb of Valparaiso. The ladies were ranged as usual, along the wall in a compact line, with their shawls drawn over the head and across the chin, so as nearly to conceal the face. One young lady was playing the harp ; and one the guitar ; while others occasionally joined with their shrill voices, in singing the patriotic songs of the day. Some were chatting, some working, and the evening was passing away pleasantly enough, till suddenly, and without any apparent cause, the whole party jumped

up, cast away their music and work, and flew in the most frantic manner out of the house, screaming aloud, *Misericordia ! misericordia !* all beating their breasts, and looking terrified beyond description. I was astonished ; but, notwithstanding my ignorance of the cause of the uproar, followed the company into the street, calling out *Misericordia* as loud as any of them ! It was a bright moonlight evening, and the street from end to end, was filled with people ; some only half dressed, having just leaped from their beds—children, snatched from their sleep, were crying in all directions—many carried lights in their hands—in short, such a scene of wild confusion and alarm I never beheld ; all apparently occasioned by a spontaneous movement, or at least without any visible motive. After standing in the street for about a minute, the whole crowd turned round again and ran back to their houses ; so that in the course of a few seconds, the hubbub was stilled, and not a mortal was to be seen.

On returning to the room, I begged to know the cause of this amazing commotion, having a vague idea of its forming some part of a religious ceremony, when to my surprise, I learnt that it

had been produced by an earthquake, so severe, that the people had been afraid of the houses tumbling about their ears, and had run into the open street to avoid the danger : for my part, I was totally unconscious of any motion, nor did I even hear the sound, which they described as unusually loud.

On mentioning this fact afterwards in company, I was assured, that for a considerable period after the arrival of foreigners, they are generally quite insensible to shocks, which a native or an old resident can at once distinguish. It may be mentioned also, as an unusual effect of experience, that the sensation of alarm caused by feeling an earthquake, unlike that caused by other kinds of danger, goes on augmenting instead of diminishing in amount ; and that one who at first ridicules the terrors of the inhabitants, comes eventually to be even more frightened than they are.

19th of Jan.—An officer of the American frigate Macedonia having died at Valparaiso, and there being no ship of war of that nation in port to pay the accustomed honours to his remains, I conceived it right to supply the place of his absent

countrymen, by attending with the officers of the Conway, and great part of the crew, in procession to the grave ; accompanied by all the Americans, English, and other foreigners, without distinction, who happened to be on the spot. In places remote from home, an incident of this description makes every stranger feel more strongly his insulated situation—in the absence of our natural friends, it disposes us instinctively to cling to those around, who being equally desolate, are always ready to sympathize with us.

On reaching the grave, even the most unreflecting were shocked to find that the body was to be laid in unconsecrated ground ; for the former masters of the country, it appeared, had systematically denied to all foreigners, except such as were Catholics, the privilege of Christian burial. But it is very gratifying to learn, that the new government, in a spirit worthy of the times, has since expressed the utmost readiness to grant a piece of ground to be consecrated and set apart for this purpose.

21st of Jan.—The Chilians are fond of making pic-nic parties, to dine in the country, at any spot

which may suit them during an excursion, and to-day I happened to fall in with some friends bent on such an expedition, all crowded into a *carreta* or covered waggon, on its way to the hills. They wanted one more *cavallero*, they said, and I was well pleased to be permitted to join them. We reached the destined spot in safety, though sufficiently jolted, and well nigh deafened by the creaking sound of the wheels, which, like those in Spain, are kept purposely without grease, in order, it is asserted, by this clumsy device, to prevent smuggling—since no cart nor waggon can pass within half a league of a custom-house officer without calling his attention to the spot. Here we found ourselves seated in the cool verandah of a neatly built cottage; and the sea-breeze setting in, was delightfully refreshing after our dusty drive in the *carreta*. Our situation on the side of the mountain commanded a full view of the bay and shipping, as well as of the long line of houses skirting the shore; and the cottage being surrounded by fruit-trees, such as figs, apples, peaches, and oranges, and shaded by lofty tamarinds, the name given to the valley by its discoverers appeared no

longer inappropriate ; and was still further justified by our discovering afterwards, when rambling amongst the hills, undoubted traces of an ancient forest. We pleased our imaginations by looking forward to the time when industry and wealth shall again restore the whole of this uncultivated scene to its former beauty.

Our pic-nic differed greatly from the repasts under that name which I have shared in other countries ; our table displayed at least a dozen dressed dishes, with all the formalities of a dinner, not followed, however, by the customary *siesta* ; a most remarkable omission. The party being in a merry mood, voted that, instead of sleeping, they should go to a flower-garden about a mile distant. This proposal being carried by acclamation, we all set out, and having sauntered up and down the cool walks for an hour, returned to the town loaded with roses and sweetbriar.

On the 22d of January his Majesty's ship *Owen Glendower* arrived at Valparaiso, and the *Conway* being ordered to proceed to Peru, sailed on the 27th for Callao, the sea-port of Lima.

CHAPTER II.

CHILI.

NOTICE OF THE REVOLUTIONS IN CHILI—GENERAL SAN
MARTIN—ARRIVAL OF LORD COCHRANE.

CHILI first threw off the Spanish yoke in September 1810, but the national Independence was not fully established till April 1818. During the intermediate period, the dissensions of the different parties; their disputes as to the form of government, and the law of election; with other distracting causes, arising out of the ambition of turbulent individuals, and the inexperience of the whole nation in political affairs; so materially retarded the union of the country, that the Spaniards, by sending expeditions from Peru, were enabled, in 1814, to regain their lost authority in Chili.

Meanwhile the Government of Buenos Ayres,

the independence of which had been established in 1810, naturally dreaded that the Spaniards would not long be confined to the western side of the Andes ; but would speedily make a descent upon the provinces of the River Plate, of which Buenos Ayres is the capital. In order to guard against this formidable danger, they bravely resolved themselves to become the invaders, and by great exertions equipped an army of 4000 men. The command of this force was given to General Don José de San Martín, a native of the town of Yapeyú in Paraguay ; a man greatly beloved by all ranks, and held in such high estimation by the people, that to his personal exertions the formation of this army is chiefly due.

With these troops San Martín entered Chili by a pass over the Andes heretofore deemed inaccessible, and on the 12th of February 1817, attacked and completely defeated the Royal army at Chacabuco. The Chilians, thus freed from the immediate presence of the enemy, elected General O'Higgins as Director ; and he, in 1818, offered the Chilians a constitution, and nominated five senators to administer the affairs of the coun-

try. This meritorious officer, an Irishman by descent, though born in Chili, has ever since remained at the head of the government. It was originally proposed to elect General San Martin as Director ; but this he steadily refused, proposing his companion in arms, O'Higgins, in his stead.

The remnant of the Spanish army took refuge in Talcahuana, a fortified sea-port near Concepcion, on the southern frontier of Chili. Vigorous measures were taken to reduce this place, but, in the beginning of 1818, the Viceroy of Peru, by draining that province of its best troops, sent off a body of 5000 men under General Osorio, who succeeded in joining the Spaniards shut up in Talcahuana. Thus reinforced, the Royal army, amounting in all to 8000, drove back the Chilians, marched on the capital, and gained other considerable advantages ; particularly in a night action at Talca, on the 19th of March 1818, where the Royalists almost entirely dispersed the Patriot forces. San Martin, however, who, after the battle of Chacabuco, had been named Commander-in-chief of the united armies of Chili

and Buenos Ayres ; and who seems to have possessed, in a remarkable degree, the confidence of both countries, succeeded, in conjunction with General O'Higgins and Las Heras, in rallying the troops, augmenting their numbers, and inspiring them with fresh resolution. These exertions on the part of the generals were admirably seconded by the inhabitants of Santiago, who seeing the necessity of making an extraordinary effort, not only subscribed their money, but gave up all their plate and jewels, for the good of their country. This timely supply enabled San Martin to re-equip the army with amazing celerity, and to bring it again into the field as well appointed as before ; so that, on the 5th of April 1818, only seventeen days after his defeat, he engaged, and after an obstinate and sanguinary conflict, completely routed the Spanish army on the plains of Maypo.

From that day Chili may date her complete independence ; for although a small portion of the Spanish troops endeavoured to make a stand at Concepcion, they were soon driven out, and the

country left in the free possession of the Patriots, or as their expressive language calls them, Hijos del Pays, Sons of the Land.

Having now time to breathe, the Chilian Government, aided by that of Buenos Ayres, determined to attack the Royalists in their turn, by sending an armament against Peru—a great and bold measure, originating with San Martin, who saw that the independence of neither of these countries could ever be secure, whilst a great Spanish force maintained itself in their neighbourhood, supported by the wealth and resources of Peru.

Had this expedition sailed at once, there could have been little doubt of its immediate and complete success ; for Peru, in fact, had been left nearly defenceless, by the efforts she had made to repress the revolutionary spirit of Chili ; and, from this exhausted situation, she did not recover for some time. Chili, however, and Buenos Ayres being both, in a great degree, similarly circumstanced, were not at first equal to the great exertions necessary to send out an expedition ;—the difficulty of providing ships, arms,

and other requisites, and the indolent habits acquired under their former rulers, prevented any real progress being made in the expedition, till about March 1820, two years after the battle of Maypo. They had, however, an animating cause before them; they were quickened by success, and strongly stimulated, both by the hopes of securing their independence, and by the dread of again sinking under the ancient yoke.

The Spanish naval force in the Pacific was at this time considerable; and although the Chilians had made great exertions to equip a squadron, and had distinguished themselves at sea on more than one occasion, they could not for a long time have gained such a command of the sea-coast, as was essential to the grand project above mentioned, had not Lord Cochrane, fortunately for the independent cause, accepted an invitation from the Chilian Government, to take the command of their navy.

The great influence which Lord Cochrane's renown, his matchless intrepidity, and his inexhaustible resources in war, have had on the fate

of those countries, render some account of his proceedings an important part of this sketch.

His Lordship arrived in Chili in November 1818, when he was immediately appointed Commander-in-chief of the squadron. Many English officers, and a great number of English and American seamen, attracted by the celebrity of his name, and the romantic nature of the cause, eagerly flocked to his standard. By their united exertions the Chilian fleet was so greatly increased in numbers and efficiency, that, in February, and afterwards in September, 1819, very gallant attacks were made on the batteries and shipping at Callao, which, although not followed by any important success, gave practical confidence to the fleet, while it alarmed the Spaniards, by displaying an extent of naval power of which they had previously no conception. His Lordship, after this attack, went to Guayaquil, where he surprised and captured a number of valuable Spanish ships, laden with timber and naval stores. He then sailed from the coast of Peru, apparently with the intention of returning to Valparaiso: instead of which, he proceeded, with a celerity and decision

perfectly incomprehensible to his dilatory enemies, to Talcahuana, the port of Concepcion, a frontier town of Chili. Here General Freyre, commanding the district, reinforced his Lordship with a detachment of troops, and he sailed for Valdivia, an important and strongly fortified Spanish town in the south. On the 2d of February 1820, Lord Cochrane succeeded, by a characteristic combination of cool judgment and impetuous gallantry, in possessing himself of all the enemy's batteries, one after another; and, subsequently, of the town and province. As this is one of the most important achievements of the war, a translation of Lord Cochrane's own letter, which was written in Spanish, detailing the event, will I think prove interesting.

“ Despatch from Lord Cochrane to the Minister of War and Marine of the Government of Chili.

“ On board the Montezuma,

“ Valdivia, 4th of February 1820.

“ SIR,—I had the honour to inform you from Talcahuana, that, taking advantage of the opportunity which presented itself of communicating

with Colonel Freyre on the means most effectual towards expelling the enemy from the south of Chili, and freeing the country from future incursions, I availed myself of the assistance of that zealous and active officer ; who supplied me, on the 28th ult., with the troops and other assistance I required. The O'Higgins, Intrepid brig, and Montezuma schooner, sailed with a fair wind, and on the 2d inst. arrived at the preconcerted rendezvous, ten leagues to the southward of Valdivia. All the troops were then embarked in the small vessels ; and, leaving the O'Higgins outside, we stood in for the Aguada Inglesa, where we anchored at a moderate distance from the battery and fort of San Carlos. The troops were disembarked at sunset ; but this was not effected before the castle commenced a fire upon us ; and, in consequence of the heavy surf retarding the disembarkation, the enemy gained time to collect a considerable force behind the precipices which line the beach.

“ Nevertheless, the marines of the O'Higgins and Intrepid, with the military, having reached the shore, put the enemy to flight ; and, pursuing

them to the forts of Aguada Inglesa and San Carlos, immediately took possession of the first. The second was taken by assault after dark, in spite of all the efforts the enemy made to defend it. The rapidity with which we took the forts and batteries of Avanzado, Barro, Amagos, and Chocomago, can only be compared with the valour and resolution of the officers and men who entered the Castle of Corral along with the enemy, whom they were pursuing to this last point that remained to them. In this manner fell all the batteries and forts on the southern bank, whose artificial strength is nothing when compared with their advantageous natural situation.

“ I enclose you the letters of Major Beauchefs, who commanded the brave detachment of 250 men with which the patriot Colonel Freyre supplied me, and of Major Miller, who commanded the marines. Of the gallant conduct of these two officers, and that of Captain Erezcous, who commanded the detachment from the Intrepid, as of all the rest, I can say nothing in praise adequate to their merit, and, consequently, I shall recommend them, in expressive silence, to the consideration of his Excellency the Supreme Director.

“ I had almost forgotten to mention, that these forts and batteries mount seventy pieces of cannon, and that we have taken in the port the ship Dolores.” (Signed) “ COCHRANE.”

While Lord Cochrane was thus harassing the enemy at every point of the coast where they still maintained a footing, and pursuing their ships whenever he could gain intelligence of them, the Government of Chili was not inactive. The resources of the country were industriously called forth, troops were embodied and disciplined, and every preparation made for the great expedition against Peru. The executive Government also removed from the capital to Valparaiso, in order to co-operate more effectually with the indefatigable San Martin in organizing the army, and Lord Cochrane, as soon as the necessary arrangements were made for the new administration of Valdivia, returned to Valparaiso, where he devoted himself, with unremitting assiduity, to the equipment of the fleet destined to accompany the expedition. Under his hand all things prospered. The confined naval resources of the country were turned to the greatest account, with a

dexterity and professional skill which astonished every one. Nor was his Lordship less successful in producing, out of the incongruous materials under his command, a thorough union of hearts and hands in execution of the great task he had undertaken.

The expedition was finally reported ready for sailing on the 15th of August 1820 ; the troops, which had been encamped in readiness in the neighbourhood, were marched into Valparaiso on the 18th, and immediately embarked from the arsenal under the superintendence of General Las Heras. On this occasion it was admitted, by men experienced in the embarkation of regular European armies, that the appearance and discipline of the Chilians were worthy of any country. Their numbers amounted to 3700 men. Fifteen thousand stand of arms, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition and clothing, were shipped for the purpose of organizing fresh corps of the Peruvians, who, it was expected, would flock to the Independent standard as soon as the expedition landed. General San Martin was named Commander-in-chief, and Captain-general of the United Liberating Army of Peru.

The fleet under Lord Cochrane consisted of the O'Higgins, of 50 guns, bearing his Lordship's flag at the main ; the San Martin, 60 ; the Lautaro, 40 ; Independencia, 24 ; and three smaller vessels. The transports were twenty in number, chiefly prizes captured from the Spaniards.

The first bulletin of the Liberating Army opens with the following words, which state the object of the expedition briefly and with some spirit :—

“ Valparaiso, 13th of August 1820.

“ In the tenth year of the South American Revolution, and the three hundredth of the conquest of Peru ; a people, whose rank in the social scale has been hitherto rated below its destiny, has undertaken to break those chains which Pizarro began to forge, with his blood-stained hands, in 1520.

“ The government established in Chili, since its restoration, having conceived this great design, deems it right that it should be carried into execution by the same person, * who, having twice promised to save his country, has twice succeeded.

* San Martin, in 1817, at Chacabuco, and in 1818, at Maypo, completely defeated the Spaniards.

“ An expedition, equipped at the expence of great sacrifices, is, at length, ready to proceed, and the army of Chili, united to that of the Andes, is now called upon to redeem the land in which slavery has longest existed, and from whence the latest efforts have been made to oppress the whole Continent. Happy be this day on which the record of the movements and the action of the expedition commences.

“ The object of this enterprise is to decide, whether or not the time is arrived, when the influence of South America upon the rest of the world shall be commensurate with its extent, its riches, and its situation.”

As there will be occasion to make frequent use of the terms Spaniard and Patriot, it may prevent misapprehension to state, that, by the word Spaniard is exclusively meant a person born in Old Spain ; and by Patriot one born in South America, and attached to the Independent cause. Persons born in the colonies of Spanish parents are, in Europe, usually termed Creoles, but the use of this word I have avoided, as a little offensive to South American ears ; probably from its

having been the appellation given them during their dependent state. In speaking of themselves, they use the word American, or Patriot ; but as the former might lead to confusion with the inhabitants of the United States, it seems least objectionable to use Patriot, when speaking of persons born in the country, though descended from Spaniards. The term Patriot, indeed, in its strict sense, does not describe what, in speaking of the South American states, it is applied to ; but it has, of late years, been so universally adopted to designate all descriptions of adherents to the cause opposed to the Spanish authority in South America, that I shall constantly use it in this sense, in preference to any more exact, but less generally received appellation. The language, it may be mentioned, spoken all over the country, is Spanish, more or less corrupted by local idiom and pronunciation.

The expedition set sail for Peru on the 20th of August, and reached Pisco, a port about 100 miles south of Lima, on the 7th of September, where, by the 11th, the whole army was disembarked. The Spanish troops, stationed in that neighbourhood, had previously fallen back upon

Lima, where the Viceroy resolved to collect his whole force. At first, therefore, the Liberating Army encountered no resistance, and on the 26th, an armistice of eight days being agreed to, at the request of the Viceroy Don Joaquim Pezuela; the commissioners of both parties held a conference at Miraflores, a village two or three leagues south of Lima.

The real object of the Chilians in agreeing to this armistice, was to gain time. The whole of the artillery and 500 infantry had parted from the fleet during the passage, and had not rejoined the expedition. In order to allow these vessels to join, the armistice was protracted as long as possible. Besides, it was of the utmost importance to procure correct information respecting the state of the country, and to distribute manifestoes and other seductive and inflammatory papers amongst the inhabitants.

It was first proposed, on the part of the Viceroy, "That the Government and people of Chili and the army should swear to the constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, and should send deputies to the Sovereign Congress of Spain, for the purpose of availing themselves of the rights and

privileges granted to the Colonies by the Cortes."

This proposition the Chilian Deputies declined to discuss; saying, they were not authorized to negotiate on such a basis, and that they could treat only on grounds not at variance with the principles, which the free Governments of South America had laid down as the rule of their conduct. The Royalist Deputies next proposed, "That the Liberating Army should evacuate the territory of Peru, and return to Chili; under the express engagement, that deputies should be sent with full powers to Spain, to request his Majesty to grant their wishes." This new proposal convinced the Chilians, that the Government of Lima had no serious intention of coming to terms; in fact, they never supposed the Viceroy in earnest; but as the Deputies were instructed to leave nothing untried, and if possible, to discover the real extent of the obstacles to peace, they proposed, on the part of Chili, "That the Liberating Army should evacuate Pisco, and retire beyond the river Desaguadero, which lies in lat. 18° south, and forms the bounding line of Chili and Peru; and that the Royal troops

should retire behind the limits of the presidency of Chili, as defined in 1810; that the political state of Chili remaining unchanged, should send commissioners with full powers to Madrid, to treat with His Most Catholic Majesty; while hostilities should cease both by sea and land, until three months after the termination of the negotiations; and, finally, that the senior officer of His Britannic Majesty's ships, and the senior officer of the ships of the United States of North America, should be requested to guarantee the fulfilment of these stipulations." The Viceroy declined the essential parts of this proposal, namely, the evacuation of the provinces of Potosi, Chuquizaca, Cochabamba, and La Paz, as well as the guarantee of the naval Commanders-in-chief; so that, after a long, but unimportant correspondence between the two parties, the armistice was broken up on the 4th of October, and on the 26th, the expedition proceeded to the northward.

San Martin's plan of the campaign was certainly very skilful. By landing to windward of Lima, (for the wind blows constantly from the south on this part of the coast,) he retained the power of making a descent upon the capital at

any moment he chose, should the Viceroy venture to quit it with the main body of the Spanish army to repel the invaders. The Viceroy was thus also prevented from detaching any of his forces to intercept a division of the Patriots' army, which San Martin sent under Colonel Arenales into the interior. The subsequent removal of the Chilean expedition to Ancon, situated to the northward of Lima, occupied the attention of the Viceroy still more closely, and gave Arenales full time to effect his object of exciting the interior to revolt.

In the meantime, while the Liberating Army under San Martin were removing to Ancon, Lord Cochrane, with part of his squadron, anchored in the outer Roads of Callao, the sea-port of Lima. The inner harbour was guarded by an extensive system of batteries, admirably constructed, and bearing the general name of the Castle of Callao. The merchant ships, as well as the men-of-war, consisting, at that time, of the Esmeralda, a large 40 gun frigate, and two sloops of war, were moored under the guns of the castle within a semicircle of fourteen gun-boats, and a boom made of spars chained together. Lord

Cochrane having previously reconnoitred these formidable defences in person, undertook, on the night of the 5th of November, the desperate enterprise of cutting out the Spanish frigate, although she was known to be fully prepared for an attack. His Lordship proceeded in fourteen boats, containing 240 men, all volunteers from the different ships of the squadron, in two divisions; one under the immediate orders of Captain Crosbie, the other under Captain Guise; both commanding ships of the Chilian squadron.

At midnight, the boats having forced their way across the boom, Lord Cochrane, who was leading, rowed alongside the first gun-boat, and, taking the officer by surprise, proposed to him, with a pistol at his head, the alternative of "Silence or death!"—no reply was made—the boats pushed on unobserved—and Lord Cochrane, mounting the Esmeralda's side, was the first to give the alarm. The sentinel on the gangway levelled his piece and fired; but was instantly cut down by the coxswain, and his Lordship, though wounded in the thigh, at the same moment stepped on the deck. The frigate being boarded with no less gallantry, on the opposite side, by Captain Guise,

who met Lord Cochrane midway on the quarter-deck ; and also by Captain Crosbie ; the after part of the ship was soon carried, sword in hand. The Spaniards rallied on the forecastle, where they made a desperate resistance, till overpowered by a fresh party of seamen and marines, headed by Lord Cochrane. A gallant stand was again made for some time on the main-deck ; but before one o'clock the ship was captured, her cables cut, and she was steered triumphantly out of the harbour, under the fire of the whole of the north face of the castle. The Hyperion, an English, and the Macedonian, an American frigate, which were at anchor close to the scene of action, got under weigh when the attack commenced ; and, in order to prevent their being mistaken by the batteries for the Esmeralda, showed distinguishing signals : but Lord Cochrane, who had foreseen and provided even for this minute circumstance, hoisted the same lights as the American and English frigates ; and thus rendered it impossible for the batteries to discriminate between the three ships : the Esmeralda, in consequence, was very little injured by the shot from the batteries.

The Spaniards had upwards of 120 men kill-

ed and wounded; the Chilians 11 killed, and 30 wounded.

This loss was a death-blow to the Spanish naval force in that quarter of the world; for, although there were still two Spanish frigates and some smaller vessels in the Pacific, they never afterwards ventured to show themselves, but left Lord Cochrane undisputed master of the coast.

The skill and gallantry displayed by Lord Cochrane, both in planning and conducting this astonishing enterprise, are so peculiarly his own, and so much in character with the great deeds of his early life, that a copy of his instructions for the action, and his subsequent despatch, will be read with much interest.

Copy of Lord Cochrane's preparatory Memorandum to the Chilian Squadron, dated

“ On board the Chilian States' Ship O'Higgins,
“ 1st of November 1820.

“ The boats will proceed, towing the launches in two lines parallel to each other, which lines are to be at the distance of three boats' length asunder.

“ The second line will be under the charge of

Captain Guise. Each boat will be under the charge of a volunteer commissioned officer, so far as circumstances permit, and the whole under the immediate command of the Admiral.

“The officers and men are all to be dressed in white jackets, frocks, or shirts, and are to be armed with pistols, sabres, knives, tomahawks, or pikes.

“Two boat-keepers are to be appointed to each boat, who, on no pretence whatever, shall quit their respective boats, but are to remain therein, and take care that the boats do not get adrift.

“Each boat is to be provided with one or more axes, or sharp hatchets, which are to be kept slung to the girdle of the boat-keepers. The frigate Esmeralda being the chief object of the expedition, the whole force is first to attack that ship, which, when carried, is not to be cut adrift, but is to remain in possession of the Patriot seamen, to ensure the capture of the rest.

“On securing the frigate, the Chilian seamen and marines are not to cheer as if they were Chilenos, but, in order to deceive the enemy, and give time for completing the work, are to cheer, ‘Viva el Rey!’

“ The two brigs of war are to be fired on by the musketry from the Esmeralda, and are to be taken possession of by Lieutenants Esmond and Morgell, in the boats they command ; which being done, they are to cut adrift, run out, and anchor in the offing as quickly as possible. The boats of the Independencia are to busy themselves in turning adrift all the outward Spanish merchant ships ; and the boats of the O'Higgins and Lautaro, under Lieutenants Bell and Robertson, are to set fire to one or more of the headmost hulks ; but these are not to be cut adrift so as to fall down upon the rest.

“ The watch-word, or parole and countersign, should the white dress not be sufficient distinction in the dark, are ‘ Gloria !’ to be answered by ‘ Victoria !’” (Signed) “ COCHRANE.”

Whether Lord Cochrane really expected to extend his operations beyond the capture of the frigate, or whether he merely wished to inspire his people with confidence, by making the main object appear only a part of the enterprise, is uncertain ; but, in either case, the effect could not fail to be valuable.

The foregoing memorandum, being addressed principally to Englishmen and North Americans, was written in English. The following letter I have never seen, except in the original Spanish.

Translation of Admiral Lord Cochrane's Despatch to General San Martin, Commander-in-Chief of the Liberating Army of Peru.

“ On board the Chilian States' Ship

“ O'Higgins, before Callao, Nov. 14, 1820.

“ MOST EXCELLENT SIR,—The efforts of his Excellency the Supreme Director, and the sacrifices of the Patriots of the South, to acquire the dominion of the Pacific, have hitherto been frustrated, chiefly by the enormous strength of the batteries of Callao, which (being superior to those of Algiers or Gibraltar) rendered every attack against the naval force of the enemy impracticable, with any class or number of ships of war. Nevertheless, being desirous of advancing the cause of rational liberty, and political independence, which is the great object your Excellency has in view ; and to promote the happiness of mankind ; I was anxious to dispel the charm which heretofore had paralysed our naval efforts.

With this intention, I carefully examined the batteries, the ships of war, and the gun-boats in this port; and being satisfied that the frigate *Esmeralda* could be cut out by men resolved to do their duty, I immediately gave orders to the Captains of the *Independencia* and *Lautaro* to prepare their boats; and acquainted them, that the value of that frigate, together with the reward offered in Lima for the capture of any of the ships of Chili, would be the recompence of those who should volunteer to take part in this enterprise.

“On the following day, a number of volunteers, including Captains Forster, Guise, and Crosbie, with other officers, offered their services; the whole amounting to a force sufficient for the execution of the project. Every thing being prepared, the boats were exercised in the dark, in the evening of the 4th inst., and the night of the 5th of November was chosen for the attack.*

* This night was not fixed on accidentally, or if so, Lord Cochrane knew how to turn even such a trifle to account. He addressed a few words to his people, before setting out in the boats, and concluded by saying, he had purposely chosen the 5th of November—“and now, my

“ Captain Crosbie had charge of the first division, consisting of the boats of the O’Higgins, and Captain Guise of the second, which was formed of those of the other ships. At half-past ten, we rowed in two lines towards the enemy’s anchorage, and at twelve forced the line of gunboats guarding the entrance. The whole of our force boarded the Esmeralda at the same moment, and drove the enemy from the deck, after an obstinate resistance.

“ All the officers employed on this service have conducted themselves in the most gallant manner. To them, and also to the seamen and marines, I feel under extreme obligations for their activity and zeal in boarding the Esmeralda.

“ I was sorry that the necessity of leaving at least one Captain in charge of the ships, prevented my acceding to the wishes of the Captain of the Independencia, who accordingly remained with the squadron. I have also to lament the loss we have sustained. That of the Esmeralda

lads, we shall give them such a Gunpowder Plot as they will not forget in a hurry !”

cannot be exactly ascertained on account of the wounded and others who leaped over board ; but we know that, out of 330 individuals originally on board, only 204 have been found alive, including officers and wounded men. The Esmeralda mounts 40 guns, and is not in a bad state, as was represented, but, on the contrary, very well found and perfectly equipped. She has on board three months' provisions, besides a supply of cordage and other articles for two years. A gun-boat of four guns, which lay directly in the passage of our boats, was boarded and towed out on the following morning.

“I hope the capture of the flag-ship Esmeralda, secured by booms, batteries, and gun-boats, in a situation always before deemed impregnable, and in sight of the capital, where the fact cannot be concealed, will produce a moral effect greater than might be expected under other circumstances.

“ I have great satisfaction in sending you the flag of Admiral Vacaro, that you may be pleased to present it to his Excellency the Supreme Director of the Republic of Chili.

(Signed) “ COCHRANE.”

While the spirits of the Chilians were raised to a high pitch by this splendid naval exploit, equal success crowned their exertions by land. Colonel Arenales, with a body of 1000 men, had been sent from Pisco, with orders to strike into the country across the Andes, and to proceed by a circuitous route round Lima, till he rejoined the army. This march was to be made through a country occupied by the Spaniards, and had for its principal object to discover the state of political feeling in the several districts surrounding the capital. The service was performed in a masterly manner by Arenales, who accomplished the object of rousing the inhabitants of those districts to assert the cause of independence, and gained also high military renown for the Liberating Army. On his march through the interior he was met by a strong division of the Royal troops, expressly sent against him from Lima; this he totally defeated in a pitched battle at Pasco, killing or taking prisoners the General and the whole of the division. These various successes gave so much splendour and popularity to the Independent cause, that, on the 3d of December, a whole regiment of

the Royalist force left the Spanish camp, and actually volunteered to serve under the standard of the Liberating Army. This regiment was called the Battalion of Numancia, and was commanded by a Spaniard of the name of Delgado, who was made prisoner by his own troops, and delivered over to the Patriots.

After a short stay at Ancon, San Martin, in the end of 1820, proceeded with the army to Huara, a strong position near the port of Huacho, lying seventy-five miles to the northward of Lima. Here the expedition remained for upwards of six months, without performing any other brilliant service. San Martin, indeed, having shown sufficiently what his army and fleet were capable of, chose to rely less on military achievements, than on the effect of disseminating the principles of insurrection throughout the country. The army was greatly reduced by sickness at Huacho; but San Martin succeeded, through the influence of the Marquis of Torre Tagle, in gaining over the populous and important department of Truxillo. By means of political publications, aided by the exertions of

numerous able and active agents, he carried his intrigues not only into the provinces, but into the very heart of the capital ; and in process of time acquired sufficient influence in the surrounding districts, to cut off the principal supply of provisions to the capital by land. The port of Callao, being at the same time closely blockaded by Lord Cochrane, the inhabitants of Lima were reduced to the greatest extremity, while every other part of the country was enjoying freedom and plenty.

CHAPTER III.

PERU.

FIRST VISIT TO LIMA, WHILE PERU WAS STILL IN
POSSESSION OF THE SPANIARDS.

ON the 5th of February 1821, after a passage of nine days from Valparaiso, we anchored in the Roads of Callao, the port of Lima, from which it is distant about six miles.

At the time of our arrival, the state of Peru, both domestic and political, was highly interesting, though differing in almost every particular from that of Chili.

There is no circumstance which distinguishes travels by land, from voyages by sea, more than the different manner in which new countries are brought under notice. On land the traveller is

so gradually introduced to new scenes, as scarcely to be aware that he has passed a frontier, for the manners of the adjacent territories often blend themselves insensibly into one another. When countries, on the other hand, are approached by sea, the case is different ; for we are abruptly introduced, while the impressions of the places we have come from are fresh in our recollection, to a totally new set of objects, which we are thus enabled to compare with those we have left. Even when the two countries are in a great measure similarly circumstanced, as in the case of the different South American states, there will always be found a sufficient number of distinctions, arising out of climate and other local causes, to diversify the picture.

In Chili, as we have just seen, national independence had been for several years established, and a free and extensive commerce had, as a natural consequence, speedily sprung up ; knowledge was gradually making its way ; the moral and political bonds in which the minds of the people had been so long constrained were broken asunder ; and the consequences of such freedom

were rapidly developing themselves in a thousand shapes. In Peru, on the contrary, the word Independence was now heard for the first time; but as yet only in whispers, under the protection of San Martin's cannon. In Lima, where such free sentiments were still deemed treasonable, prejudice and error had established their headquarters; and the obstinate bigotry with which old customs and opinions were adhered to, was rather strengthened than diminished by the apprehension of a total subversion of the whole system. The contrast between the two countries, Chili and Peru, as it met our eyes, was most striking; and if due justice could be done to the description of each, a pleasing inference would be drawn by every Englishman in favour of the popular side of the question.

The contrast between a country in a state of war, and one in a state of peace, was, perhaps, never more strikingly displayed than upon this occasion: but, besides the interest arising out of such contrast, as applicable to the states of peace and war, the view was curious and instructive, as displaying the rapid effect produced by a

change in the government of one of the two countries. As long as both were similarly administered, Peru had an infinite advantage over Chili in wealth and importance ; but as soon as Chili became independent, she at once assumed the superiority.

We left Valparaiso harbour filled with shipping ; its custom-house wharfs piled high with goods, too numerous and bulky for the old warehouses ; the road between the port and the capital was always crowded with convoys of mules, loaded with every kind of foreign manufacture ; while numerous ships were busy taking in cargoes of the wines, corn, and other articles, the growth of the country ; and large sums of treasure were daily embarked for Europe, in return for goods already distributed over the interior. A spirit of inquiry and intelligence animated the whole society ; schools were multiplied in every town ; libraries established ; and every encouragement given to literature and the arts : and as travelling was free, passports were unnecessary. In the manners, and even in the gait of every man, might be traced the air of conscious freedom

and independence. In dress also a total change had very recently taken place, and from the same causes. The former uncouth, and almost savage costume of the ladies, and the slovenly cloaks worn by the men, had given way to the fashions of Europe: and although these may be deemed circumstances almost too minute to mention, they are not unimportant when connected with feelings of national pride, heretofore unknown. It is by these, and a multitude of other small changes, that these people are constantly reminded of their past compared with their present situation; and it is of essential use to their cause, that they should take delight in assimilating themselves, even in trifles, with other independent nations of the world.

No such changes, and no such sentiments, were as yet to be found in Peru. In the harbour of Callao, the shipping were crowded into a corner, encircled by gun-boats, close under the fort, and with a strong boom drawn round them. The custom-house was empty, and the door locked; no bales of goods rose in pyramids on the quays; no loaded mules covered the road from Callao to Lima; nor during the whole ascent was an indi-

vidual to be seen, except, perhaps, a solitary courier galloping towards the fortress. In Lima itself the difference was as striking: jealousy and distrust of one another, and still more of strangers, filled every breast; disappointment and fear, aggravated by personal inconvenience and privation, broke up all agreeable society; rendering this once great, luxurious, and happy city, one of the most wretched places on earth.

Lima was not, however, on this account, the less interesting to a stranger: and although we often regretted not seeing it in its days of glory, we could not but esteem ourselves fortunate, in having an opportunity of witnessing the effect of a combination of circumstances, not likely to be met with again. The immediate cause of this unhappy state of things, was the spirit of independence which had recently burst forth in South America; and it may be remarked, that none of those free states have achieved their liberty without first running a similar course of suffering—a sort of ordeal to purify them from the contamination of their former degradation.

Lima, up to this period, had been exempted

from the sufferings of the countries by which she was surrounded. It is true there had been wars of a revolutionary character, in the interior of Peru; but their desolating effect had not till now reached the capital, the inhabitants of which went on in their usual style of splendid luxury, in thoughtless ease and security, till the enemy came and knocked at the "silver gates of the city of the kings," as Lima was proudly called in the days of her magnificence. San Martin's expedition took the Limenians quite by surprise; for they had always held Chili in contempt, as a mere appendage to Peru, from which no attack could be apprehended. The attack, however, was made, by land and by sea; and while San Martin was making head steadily with his troops, drawing nearer and nearer to the capital, cutting off its supplies, and gaining over to his cause all the districts through which he passed; Lord Cochrane swept the sea of Spanish ships; blockaded the Peruvian ports; and carried off their finest frigate, from under the very guns of their strongest fort.

The violent irritation produced in Lima by

these operations of the enemy was quite natural ; for the fortunes of the inhabitants, who had been accustomed for ages to revel in luxury and wealth, were now reduced to the lowest ebb ; and the Spaniards, proud by birth and education, were cut to the soul by such humiliating reverses, of which these unaccustomed privations made them only the more sensible. As they were aware that Lord Cochrane and the greater part of his officers and crew were English, it was to be expected they would be jealous and distrustful of all Englishmen, however unconnected with the Chilians, or however circumspect in their conduct. A person professing neutrality is placed in an awkward situation, between two contending parties : his indifference is ascribed to ill-will—the slightest expression which escapes him in favour of the other party is resented as hostility—and any agreement, on a single point, is instantly seized upon as an indubitable proof of his friendly disposition.

To a mere traveller, this state of things might have been amusing enough ; but to us, who had a particular line of conduct to pursue, and a num-

ber of objects to attend to, it was frequently the source of considerable embarrassment. We were obliged to communicate occasionally with both parties, on business relative to commerce, and other matters affecting the British interests ; and as the nature of the subject often required personal intercourse, we were inevitably led, at times, to a greater degree of apparent familiarity with one party, than the other could allow to be consistent with our professed neutrality. Each, however, in turn, invariably forgot this reflection, when the intercourse happened to lie with themselves : so that, to maintain our neutral character on these occasions, and not at the same time to give offence, required some address. With the Chilians, who were advancing, it was not so difficult as with the Spaniards, who stood in need of countenance. The Chilians also had good reason to believe that we wished them success on account of our trade ; as well as from the sentiments known to be expressed on the subject in England. But with the Spaniards, who were sinking in the world, it was otherwise : nothing would satisfy them but a declaration of cordial adherence to their cause,

and hatred to that of the Insurgents, as they, in the bitterness of their hearts, called the Patriots. At the same time they always affected to despise their enemies, and to be perfectly indifferent to our opinion ; yet, with the perversest spirit of inconsistency, they occupied themselves in watching us, and misinterpreting all our actions and expressions to such a degree, that nothing was too extravagant to be told and believed in Lima respecting our breaches of neutrality. It was in vain, by a frank and open behaviour, to hope to escape suspicion ; for it had become a sort of disease amongst the Spaniards to suspect the English ; and its symptoms were aggravated every moment by the increasing distresses to which they were exposed. It will be easily conceived that, under such circumstances, we had not much enjoyment in visiting Lima, and that, situated as we were, with many anxious duties to attend to, little leisure could be found to remark or to record peculiarities of society and manners.

Even when we did go into company, no great pleasure was to be derived from it ; as the people had neither leisure nor spirits to discuss any other

topic than their own apprehensions and sufferings. The undisturbed quiet which they had so long enjoyed, made them only more sensible to the present evil ; and all was doubt and despair. In former times, said the Limenians, our city was that in which pleasure held her court ; wealth and ease were our attendants ; enjoyment was our only business ; and we dreamt of no evil but an earthquake. They had yet to learn that there are moral and political, as well as physical earthquakes, which, though they leave churches and dwellings undestroyed, may lay the whole fabric of society in ruins.

The Royalist army, in common with the people, as usual, referred every evil to the mismanagement of the executive government ; and having decided, in their summary way, that the Viceroy was unfit to reign, they forthwith deposed him at the point of the bayonet ; and raised one of their own Generals in his place. This strong measure had been carried into effect a few days before we arrived, and we found the city in considerable bustle, preparatory to the festivities usual on the installation of a new Viceroy. The soldiers, of course,



were confident the change would immediately turn the fortunes of the day, and, even in the city, a faint hope for a moment animated the inhabitants: but most reflecting persons saw clearly, that these violent proceedings only betrayed to the enemy their own want of union and discipline.

As we were not, and, indeed, could not be competent judges of these proceedings, and were not accredited to any particular government or authority, we were always left free to take things as we found them, and to communicate with the person at the head of the government, for the time being, whoever he might be, and without inquiring how he got there. It thus became my duty to pay my respects to the new Viceroy, General La Serna; as it would have been to have waited on his predecessor, General Pezuela, had I arrived a few days sooner.

The palace had a good deal the air of a native court in India; exhibiting the same intermixture of meanness and magnificence in style, which, while it displays the wealth and labour it has cost, betrays, at the same time, the want of taste and

judgment in the design. There was no keeping amongst the parts ; so that the shabby and the gorgeous were blended, and one was never sure that any thing pleasing would not be found contiguous to something offensive. The entrance was by a dirty court, like that of a stable-yard, communicating with a staircase, on the steps of which the soldiers of the guard, in ragged shabby uniforms, were lounging about, smoking their segars at their ease, and making way for no one. A long and narrow set of winding passages brought us to a suite of waiting rooms, filled with many weary supplicants, amongst whom the etiquette of precedence was not forgotten, the poorest and most hopeless being left in the outer apartments. In the room adjoining the audience chamber, we saw only the priesthood and military ; for, in these turbulent seasons, the value of a sword is estimated, at least at its due weight. Our interview, being merely ceremonial, was short, and led to nothing worth relating.

In the evening I was introduced to several families, all of which were more or less cast down by the circumstances of the day ; and their good

breeding was hardly sufficient to conceal their suspicions of our neutrality.

Next morning we called upon the deposed Viceroy, rather as a civility than a duty, for his authority was utterly destroyed, and he had retired to his country-seat, called La Magdalene, not far from Lima. He was more dejected than we thought a haughty grandee ought to have been ; but he explained this to us, by saying, that he felt deeply for this lost country, which he foresaw would never prosper under such rebellious guidance. Instead, however, of his being afflicted at the change, it is probable he secretly rejoiced at his dismissal from the command. He had done his duty as long as he could, by making a respectable stand against the enemy ; and it was clear, that he must, ere long, have yielded up the capital, not so much to the force of San Martin's army, as to the overwhelming influence of public sentiment, the tide of which had decidedly turned, and was at this time flowing directly against the Spanish authority.

During the first few days, our thoughts were so much taken up with official duties, that little

time was left for observing either the town or the society. We became every day more and more sensible of our precarious footing, and the necessity of observing the greatest circumspection in our intercourse with these jealous people. Living entirely on board ship, would at once have confirmed all their suspicions of our favouring the enemy, whose squadron was anchored in the outer Roads; while residing altogether at Lima might have been attributed to our wish to spy into the nakedness of the land. The course we did follow, of being at Lima, or at Callao, or on board, as circumstances required, though it did not exempt us from suspicion, was the best we could adopt; and we hoped, by caution and forbearance, to avoid giving cause of offence; but in this, as will be seen, we found ourselves much mistaken.

Being desirous of ascertaining, on all occasions, the real state of popular feeling, which generally developes itself at public meetings, I went to one of the bull-fights, given in honour of the new Viceroy's installation. It took place in an immense wooden amphitheatre, capable of holding, it was said, twenty thousand people. As we had

been disappointed at Valparaiso by a sham bull-fight, we hoped here to witness an exhibition worthy of the mother country. But the resemblance was, I suspect, not less faulty, though in the opposite extreme; for the bulls were here put to death with so many unusual circumstances of cruelty, as not only, I am told, to make it unlike the bull-fights of Spain, but to take away all pleasure in the spectacle from persons not habituated to such sights. These exhibitions have been described by so many travellers, that it is needless here to do more than advert to some circumstances which are said to be peculiar to those of Lima.

After the bull had been repeatedly speared, and tormented by darts and fire-works, and was all streaming with blood, the matador, on a signal from the Viceroy, proceeded to dispatch him. Not being however sufficiently expert, he merely sheathed his sword in the animal's neck without the intended effect. The bull instantly took his revenge, by tossing the matador to a great height in the air, and he fell apparently dead in the arena. The audience applauded the bull, while the

attendants carried off the matador. The bull next attacked a horseman, dismounted him, ripped up the horse's belly, and bore both him and his rider to the ground: the horse was not suffered to die in peace, but being raised on his legs, was urged, by whipping and goading, to move round the ring in a state too horrible to be described, but which afforded the spectators the greatest delight. The noble bull had thus succeeded in baffling his tormentors as long as fair means were used, when a cruel device was thought of to subdue him. A large curved instrument called a Luna was thrown at him, in such a way as to divide the hamstrings of the hind legs: such, however, were his strength and spirit, that he did not fall, but actually travelled along at a tolerable pace on his stumps,—a most horrible sight! This was not all; for a man armed with a dagger now mounted the bull's back, and rode about for some minutes to the infinite delight of the spectators; who were thrown into ecstasies, and laughed and clapped their hands at every stab given to the miserable animal, not for the purpose of killing him, but to stimulate him to accelerate his pace;

at length, the poor beast, exhausted by loss of blood, fell down and died.

The greater number of the company, although females, seemed enchanted with the brutal scene passing under their eyes, and I looked round, in vain, for a single face that looked grave: every individual, indeed, seemed quite delighted. It was melancholy to observe a great proportion of children amongst the spectators; from one of whom, a little girl, only eight years old, I learned that she had already been present at three bull-fights; the details of which she gave with great animation and pleasure, dwelling especially on such horrid circumstances as I have described. It would shock and disgust to no purpose to give a minute account of other instances of wanton cruelty, which, however, appeared to be the principal recommendation of these exhibitions. But it was impossible to help feeling, in spite of our much-talked-of neutrality, that any change which would put a stop to such proceedings was greatly to be wished. In every instance in South America, where the cause of independence has succeeded, two measures have been invariably adopt-

ed : one the abolition of the slave-trade, and as far as possible of slavery ; the other, the relinquishment of bull-fights. With respect to the slave question, most people think alike ; but many hesitate as to the propriety of doing away the bull-fights, especially they who have witnessed them in Spain only, or who have never witnessed them at all ; but it is rare to hear any one condemn their abolition after having been present at those of Lima.

I heard a Chilean gentleman offer a curious theory on this subject. He declared that the Spaniards had systematically sought by these cruel shows, and other similar means, to degrade the taste of the Colonies, and thereby more easily to tyrannize over the inhabitants. The people, he said, first rendered utterly insensible to the feelings of others, by a constant familiarity with cruelty and injustice, soon became indifferent to the wrongs of their country, and in the end lost all motive to generous exertion in themselves.

An excellent old Spanish gentleman, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, stated,

that these bull-fights were totally different from those exhibited in Spain : those of Lima, indeed, he could not bear to look at ; nor had he ever met an Englishman who could be prevailed upon to visit the amphitheatre a second time. He ridiculed the theory of the Chilian above mentioned ; though he acknowledged with shame that these scenes, horrible as they were, had always been encouraged by the Viceroys, and other Spanish rulers of the country.

In the evening I went in company with a young Spaniard to be introduced to a fine old nobleman, the Marquis of Montemira, uncle of the Duke of San Carlos, who was for some time in England as minister from the Court of Madrid. He was eighty years of age, and appeared much broken down by the climate ; but still possessed in a remarkable degree the cheerfulness of youth : indeed, his thoughts and the turn of his expressions were so juvenile, that he wanted nothing but bodily strength to take an active part in the bustling scenes of the day.

At the Marquis's we met a heavy-looking elderly priest, who put a thousand idle questions

to us respecting the news from Europe. In the course of this conversation, my malicious companion, in order to plague his reverend friend, whispered to me to say the Inquisition had been re-established in Spain. Accordingly, taking the first opportunity, I said something bearing this interpretation. The effect was amusing enough, for the old father, who it seems had been the chief inquisitor, clapped his hands, and, with a sparkling eye, shouted, "Bravo! I thought it must be so!" but perceiving his young friend smiling, he first looked angry, and then laughed, calling him a sad "pícaro."—"Nevertheless," added he, in a lower tone, with his fist clenched, and his teeth closed, "though it be not yet re-established, it soon will."

Every thing connected with the recently abolished Inquisition is viewed at Lima with a degree of scorn and hatred, very remarkable in a city so crowded with clerical establishments; and where the observances of the church form so great a part of the business of the people. But whatever be the cause of this unmeasured detestation, nothing can be more determined than it is; and our

portly friend, the ex-inquisitor, must I fear be content to follow the stream, and give up his chance of again tormenting his countrymen.

A story is told of this priest, however, which shows he was not quite hardened by the duties of his former office, but that he mingled his natural feelings with those proper to his calling, in a manner rather amiable for an inquisitor. Happening one day to visit a house where four or five Englishmen were dining, he joined in conversation with them ; and was so much pleased with his company, that he turned round to a friend, and exclaimed, “ Oh ! what a pity it is that such fine rosy-looking, good young men, should all necessarily and inevitably go to the Devil !” (*a los infiernos.*)

The domestic manners of the society here differ from those of Chili, almost as much as the dresses. Instead of meeting at balls, concerts, and tertulias or parties, the women associate very little with one another ; there are few dances, very little music, and, except at the bull-fights or the play, and sometimes in the country, the ladies seldom assemble together. But they are

all extremely regular in their attendance upon mass ; indeed, the women in these countries form the congregations almost exclusively. At the houses where we called in the morning, we usually found the ladies dressed very gaily to receive visitors ; that is, male visitors, for we seldom met any but the ladies of the house on these occasions. In the evening, the same thing generally takes place ; and our chance of meeting the gentlemen of the family, had we wished it, was always least at their own home.

In the cool part of the day, for about an hour and a half before sunset, the ladies walk abroad, dressed in a manner as far as I know unique, and certainly highly characteristic of the spot. This dress consists of two parts, one called the Saya, the other the Manto. The first is a petticoat, made to fit so tightly that, being at the same time quite elastic, the form of the limbs is rendered distinctly visible. The Manto, or cloak, is also a petticoat, but, instead of hanging about the heels, as all honest petticoats ought to do, it is drawn over the head, breast, and face ; and is kept so close by the hands, which it also conceals,

that no part of the body, except one eye, and sometimes only a small portion of one eye, is perceptible. A rich coloured handkerchief, or a silk band and tassel, are frequently tied round the waist, and hang nearly to the ground in front. A rosary, also, made of beads of ebony, with a small gold cross, is often fastened to the girdle, a little on one side ; though in general it is suspended from the neck.

The effect of the whole is exceedingly striking ; but whether its gracefulness—for, with the fine figure of the Lima women, and their very beautiful style of walking, this dress is eminently graceful—be sufficient to compensate for its indelicacy to an European eye, will depend much upon the stranger's taste, and his habits of judging of what he sees in foreign countries. Some travellers insist upon forcing every thing into comparison with what they have left at home, and condemn or approve, according as this unreasonable standard is receded from or adhered to. To us, who took all things as we found them, the Saya and Manto afforded much amusement, and, sometimes, not a little vexation. It happened occasionally, that

we were spoken to in the streets by ladies, who appeared to know us well, but whom we could not discover, till some apparently trivial remark in company long afterwards betrayed the Tapadas, as they call themselves. Ladies of the first rank indulge in this amusement, and will wear the meanest Saya, or stoop to any contrivance to effect a thorough disguise. I myself knew two young ladies, who completely deceived their brother and me, although we were aware of their fondness for such pranks, and I had even some suspicions of them at the very time. Their superior dexterity, however, was more than a match for his discernment, or my suspicions; and so completely did they deceive our eyes, and mislead our thoughts, that we could scarcely believe our senses, when they at length chose to discover themselves.

Lima has been described as the "Heaven of women, the purgatory of men, and the hell of jackasses," and so, perhaps, it may be in times of peace; but the war had now broken down such distinctions, and all parties looked equally miserable; or, if any one had the advantage, it

was the donkeys, who from the absence of all business were, for the first time in their lives, exempted from labour. The men were miserable from unwonted privation, apprehended loss of fortune, and wounded national pride. But the ladies, however annoyed by these circumstances, in common with the rest of the world, still maintained their prerogative of having their own way; a right which, when acting in co-operation with the impenetrable disguise of the Saya and Manto, gave to manners a tone and character that may be imagined, but cannot well be described. Neither would it be fair for a passing and busy visitor, like myself, with his thoughts and attention occupied by other objects, to give general opinions upon the habits of a great city. But even had our opportunities and leisure been greater, the moment was singularly unpropitious, since scarcely any circumstance in society occupied its wonted place. Even in families, the effect of the times was deeply felt: a particular view of politics was adopted by one member, the opposite by another; some acted from principle, some from interest, others from fear; thus, sincerity and

confidence were banished, just at the moment when the pressure of the war was most urgent, and when a cordial union was the only safeguard against the ruin and misery of the whole house.

Had my attention been less occupied in preserving a prudent and circumspect line of conduct, I might, undoubtedly, have noticed many incidents, which, if properly described, would have served to characterize the singular state of Lima at the moment: but this being impossible, I could only hope to catch occasionally some minute though sufficiently portentous symptoms of the times.

We of course paid our respects to the venerable Archbishop of Peru, who professed himself much attached to the English, and entertained us with a discourse on the advantages of free commerce, and the just exercise of other civil rights. This surely was ominous. From the Archbishop's palace, we crossed the square to an old lady's house, whom we found, as well as her daughter, in deep grief. The cause we did not inquire; having for some days known, although it had been concealed from her, that her son, who had

betrayed his allegiance to his King, and gone over to the Patriots, had been taken prisoner, and shot as a traitor. This also belonged to the times.

On the same day a lady applied to me for a passage to Chili, where her husband then was, a prisoner of war : she had succeeded, she said, after much trouble, in obtaining permission from the Government to leave Lima ; for such were the suspicions of every one, that even a wife's motives for joining her husband in prison were looked upon with distrust, and made matter of long debate in council. So little accustomed of late was the poor woman to being treated with any confidence or consideration, that when I frankly promised her a passage, she could scarcely believe it possible, and burst into tears.

Very different tears, I suspect, were shed by another lady whom we called upon immediately afterwards. News had just arrived of her husband, the Marquis of Torre Tagle, (afterwards a leading public character,) having gone over from the Royalist cause to that of the Patriots, while she, good lady, remained in the power of the

Royalists. Both she and her husband being natives of Lima, and persons of wealth and high rank, their politics had long been suspected to have a tendency to the Independent cause, which offered to persons so situated a great increase of fortune and consequence; and many people deemed the fair lady's sorrow was not so deep-seated as her tears implied. But hypocrisy was the ruling sin of the hour.

I dined one day with a party of gentlemen at a pleasant country house in Miraflores, a fashionable bathing place, six miles south of Lima. Villas and ornamented cottages were thickly scattered around us, but instead of being filled with company, as in times of peace, no one was now to be seen, although this was the height of the season: the sea broke idly on the beach without wetting the feet of a single bather; not a guitar, nor a song, nor the merry sound of a dance, was heard in any of the bowers or shady verandahs; no lively groupes were seated on the neat stone benches, tastefully fitted up round the houses; and the fine shady gravel walks in the numerous gardens round the villas were quite deserted, and

all running into weeds. The gay multitude, who formerly gave animation to this spot, were now drawn into the capital ; the only place where they could feel secure ; and where they derived, or sought to derive, a melancholy consolation from companionship ; and soon forgot, in the pressure of want, and the immediate apprehension of violence, those enjoyments once deemed absolute necessities of life.

From the highest to the lowest person in society, every one felt the increasing evils that crowded round the sinking state. Actual want had already begun to pinch the poor ; the loss of almost every comfort affected the next in rank ; and luxuries of all kinds were discarded from the tables of the highest class. Military contributions were heavily exacted from the monied men ; the merchants lost their commerce ; the shop-keepers their wonted supplies. Even the Viceroy himself held his power by no enviable tenure ; being surrounded by a suspicious and turbulent population, and by an army, to whose criminal insubordination alone he owed his authority. The city was invaded by a

cautious and skilful general on land, and blockaded by an enterprising commander at sea, and to wind up the evils of this ill-fated city, many of those men from whose steady and sincere support much might have been expected, were wasting their time in useless reproaches and recriminations.

Two years antecedent to this period, when an attack from Chili was first seriously apprehended, it had been suggested by some clear-sighted individuals, that the trade of Lima should be thrown open ; whereby the treasury, filled by the increased receipts of the customs, would be able to meet the expences of a defensive war. As these very persons were amongst the number who derived the greatest benefit from the existing monopoly, it was much to the credit of their sagacity, that they foresaw more ample personal profits from a fair competition, than from their portion of monopoly. Simple and effectual as the above proposal seemed, as far as the immediate security of the state was concerned, the local authorities hesitated to adopt it without licence from Spain : every one acquainted with the subject foresaw the issue of an appeal to that quarter, on a question of

free colonial trade. In the meantime, the Chilian squadron put an end to the discussion by enforcing the celebrated Spanish code, the Laws of the Indies, as to the Lima trade: the port was blockaded, and the treasury remained empty. The consequent bitter reproaches and taunts, now that they were too late, took a still more virulent character from the state of affairs; so that these and similar topics were discussed in a temper little suited to lead, even in theory, to useful conclusions; still less to that practical cordiality so essential to the welfare of the state, at such a moment.

These ruinous dissensions were still further fomented by the new spirit of independence, which, early in the campaign, pervaded the country, but had not heretofore attained the same height in Lima as in other parts of South America; owing, perhaps, to its containing a far greater proportion of Old Spaniards of wealth and consequence. Be the cause what it may, the vigilance of Government had hitherto succeeded in keeping down the expression of such feelings; but now this was no longer possible, and every day raised the hopes,

and added to the numbers, of the Independent party.

18th of Feb.—I learned, when at Lima this morning, that two officers of my ship had been arrested at Callao on the evening before, and were imprisoned in the Castle, on suspicion of being spies from Lord Cochrane's squadron, though landed by my boat. In ordinary times, had such a mistake happened, it would have been easily explained; but at a moment of such popular ferment, especially when the English were held in universal distrust, it was likely to prove a serious affair. All Lima was thrown into commotion by this circumstance; every one implicitly believed the story, and at Callao, the uproar was described as infinitely worse. At the time of receiving a report of this transaction from the ship, a letter from the Viceroy was put into my hands, stating that two persons, giving themselves out as officers of the Conway, had landed in my boat; and that, as five men at Callao had recognized and sworn to their having belonged to Lord Cochrane's ship, they had been confined in the Castle; and the formal declarations of the

witnesses were to be taken preparatory to the trial of the prisoners. I immediately waited on the Viceroy, and assured him there must be some mistake: but, in order to prevent all further misunderstanding, before making an official requisition to the Government for the officers to be delivered up, I wished to have access to them at Callao. This, however reasonable, was at first objected to, on the ground of improper communication; but as I merely asked to have the means of identifying their persons, an order was given for that purpose, which I carried with me to the Castle.

The ferment at Callao, a place at all times liable to violent popular commotions, was supposed to be so great on this irritating occasion, that many people counselled me not to excite the mob to greater fury by showing myself amongst them. But it seemed very obvious that any delay in visiting my officers in confinement at this particular moment, would tend directly to confirm all the suspicions against them; and possibly lead to their being sacrificed to the fury of the populace. The executive Government, it was to be

feared, possessed at this critical season no very great authority ; and as the military partook deeply of the wild opinions of the people, their subordination, especially in a popular point like this, could not be relied on. I saw, too, with much regret, that whatever might be the issue of this affair, all chance of our remaining afterwards on any good understanding with the Spaniards was gone.

On reaching Callao, I rode slowly through the streets, which were filled with people, over whose countenances hung a scowl that spoke any thing but civility or welcome ; there was also some little murmuring, and an occasional appearance of surprise at my presence :—but no violence or insult of any kind was offered to me.

The Spaniards are so devoted to form, that my order for admission to the prisoners was required to pass through innumerable hands before I was permitted to look at them ; and then I was not allowed to speak a word. This done, the prison doors were again locked, and I returned to Lima to make an official application to the Government for the individuals who had been arrested, and

whom I had now identified as officers of my ship.

There is some reason to think that the peaceable reception I met with at Callao was owing to a mere accident. All commercial intercourse between Chili and Peru having been cut off from the moment the expedition sailed, the only mode of communication between Valparaiso and Callao was by means of the neutral men-of-war ; and as, in former times, there had been a constant intercourse between these two ports, and numerous connections had been formed between their respective inhabitants, the effects of the war were now severely felt in the interruption of correspondence. I have stated, that, at Valparaiso, I sometimes amused myself by going into the cottages to observe the habits of the lower classes ; and as it happened that most of those people had some relative or connection settled at Callao, I was charged, on sailing, with many messages and letters, all of which, it may be mentioned as characteristic of the times, they insisted on my first reading in their presence, lest they should accidentally contain political matter likely to prove prejudicial

to their correspondents, or to me the bearer. Shortly after my arrival at Peru, I took care to deliver all these letters and messages in person. The letters were few, but the neighbours flocked in on hearing that tidings had come from Valparaiso ; and though many were disappointed, many also were made happy by hearing of their friends, from whom they had received no other direct communication for a long time. I had fortunately taken the precaution to write down the very words of the different messages from the people at Valparaiso in my pocket-book ; so that when these little memorandums were torn out and given to the parties, they became a sort of letter, and were prized as such by the receivers. For my own part, I was well satisfied with seeing people so easily made happy, and thought no more of the matter. Just now, however, when I had become an object of suspicion, and when the lives of two of my officers were at stake, it was of some consequence to maintain any good will that accident might have gained for me amongst the mob—a mob, it may be added, of a notoriously sanguinary character, since, on a recent occasion, they had

actually put a whole boat's crew to death, during a popular tumult. This occurred a few days after the capture of the *Esmeralda*, in consequence of an idea, equally preposterous with that which possessed them now, that the American frigate *Macedonian* had co-operated with Lord Cochrane upon that occasion.

As I was mounting to return to Lima, on coming out of the Castle after seeing the officers, a crowd rapidly collected around me, seemingly in no cordial mood. I walked my horse deliberately to the nearest of the houses to which any letter or message from Valparaiso had been delivered, and, under pretence of asking for a glass of water, stopped at the door. The people of the house came running out to receive me, and one of them said, in a tone partaking both of kindness and reproach, "Oh, Señor, I did not think you would have allowed spies to land in your boat." "And I, my good lady," said I, "never could have supposed you would allow such an absurd suspicion to enter your head." The crowd had, by this time, collected in great numbers round us, listening to all that passed, and many of my old

acquaintances came forward to renew the subject of their Valparaiso friends. In this way the conversation went on for about ten minutes, after which I turned my horse towards Lima. The crowd opened a passage for me ; and I was never afterwards molested or threatened in the slightest degree, though I passed through Callao several times every day during the next week, at a time when the hatred and suspicion of the English were at their greatest height.

The delay of a Spanish pleyto, or cause, is, above all others, proverbial ; and, therefore, it was not matter of surprise, however it might be of vexation, that the release of my officers was not obtained at once. An official letter was written to Government to require their restitution, as they had been identified by me, and I pledged myself, of course, to the truth of this statement. The difficulty was to determine the value of my word, as opposed to the oath of no less than five men at Callao, who had sworn, it seems, most positively, that they had recently seen these very officers doing duty on board Lord Cochrane's ships ; whereas, in point of fact, neither of them

had ever set their foot on board any one of the Chilian squadron. The Viceroy admitted that the character of the witnesses was utterly worthless ; but he did not, or, perhaps, could not, do me the justice to act upon that admission. It was clear enough that he doubted his own power ; for he said very candidly, that the tide of popular feeling could not be safely resisted, without a little delay. This want of confidence on the part of the Executive Government was a real source of alarm ; and I was made still more uneasy, by learning that the officers were to be tried by a military commission—an ominous court at best, and one, in such times, of a nature not to be trusted.

The Viceroy told me, at this interview, that he had just received advices of ten or twelve deserters from the Chilian squadron having arrived : he had ordered them to Callao, that their evidence might also be taken in the case of the officers. The testimony of these men, he thought, would probably not agree with that of the first five witnesses, who might well be suspected of having concerted their story. This seemed sen-

sible enough ; but the manner in which the scheme was carried into execution was highly characteristic. The Government considered that they had done every thing towards the advancement of justice, in originating the idea of this cross-evidence ; and, therefore, merely gave an order for the deserters to be sent to Callao, without stating that they should be kept apart from the first witnesses : so that they absolutely were placed, for a whole night, in the same room with the very men whom they were sent to confront.

I attended next morning, along with the officers, whilst the declarations of all the witnesses were taken, by the commission appointed for that purpose ; when fifteen men swore on the cross to the fact of these two gentlemen, whom they pointed out, having served upwards of two years with Lord Cochrane. They were all men of the most abandoned character, and well known at Callao as such ; but that circumstance mattered little, as their evidence ministered to the heated imagination and violent prejudices of the people. As far, therefore, as this sage inquiry went, it would certainly have left matters worse than it found them,

had not three Spanish gentlemen voluntarily come forward, greatly to their honour, in the very face of the popular clamour, and in a manner well deserving our acknowledgments. Two of them were naval officers, the other a respectable merchant : all three had been prisoners of war on board Lord Cochrane's ship at the time specified by the witnesses ; and they swore positively, that neither of the prisoners had then been on board the flagship, nor in any other of the Patriot squadron.

Had not the latter witnesses fortunately come forward, there is no saying what might have been the result of the inquiry. The military commission, however, appointed to consider the evidence, after a violent discussion, in the course of which it was seriously proposed to hang the officers as spies, agreed, by a small majority, to liberate them.

The military commission took this occasion to recommend to Government, not to allow any stranger to land from the foreign ships in the Roads, during these turbulent times. As this part of the despatch is curious, from showing the state of feeling at the moment, I subjoin a trans-

lation of it: “ And in order to maintain the friendship and harmony so valuable to both nations; to place out of reach all motive of dissension; and to avoid misunderstandings between the English and Spaniards, which, in consequence of the opinions held at Lima, and still more at Callao, neither the prudence, the foresight, nor the zeal of the commanders can prevent; it seems necessary to the Government, under existing circumstances, (the port being blockaded by the Chilian squadron, under Lord Cochrane,) that all strange ships should anchor outside of the line, (of gun-boats,) and that no individuals, of whatever class and condition they be, shall come on shore.” On the 23d of February, we accordingly embarked, and, for the present, took leave of Lima, without any great regret; for the period of our visit had been one of constant irritation and difficulty.

Lord Cochrane, who had been at sea for some time, rejoined the blockading squadron in the Roads just before the above discussion ended; and on the 24th, I had an interview with his Lordship, on board his flag-ship, the San Martin.

On the 25th his Majesty's ship *Andromache* returned to the anchorage ; and on the 28th, with a ship full of passengers, I sailed for Chili.

The city of Lima has been described so often, and so minutely, by well-known authors, that a very few words respecting it will be sufficient in this place. The road from Callao to Lima is six miles long, perfectly straight, and the rise so gradual, as to be almost imperceptible, although the city is elevated above the level of the sea more than six hundred feet. When seen from Callao Roads, or even from a less distance, no town has a more splendid appearance, owing to its numerous domes and spires, rising from so elevated a situation, and wearing a strange and rather Moorish aspect. On approaching the city, every thing speaks of past splendour and present wretchedness. At the top of the road, there is an approach a mile in length, between two double rows of fine trees, with public walks, stretching on either hand, and elegant ornamental stone seats ; all being now in ruins, and choked up with weeds and shrubs. The principal entry to Lima is at the end of this grand approach, through a gorgeous

triumphal arch, tawdry and falling to decay, with the crown of Spain mouldering on the top.

No traveller, it is said, ever entered a great town without feeling some disappointment; and the capital of Peru furnishes no exception to the observation. The churches, which, at a distance, make so splendid a show, turn out on closer inspection to be very paltry structures; overlaid with fantastic and tasteless stucco work, and tinsel ornaments. The effect, therefore, which the magnitude of the buildings might have produced, is quite destroyed by the meanness of the details. The lower part only of these great churches is built of stone, the spires and domes being formed of wood plastered over, which, though certainly a wise precaution, is destructive of their magnificent effect. This proceeds not from economical motives, but from the recollection of many fatal catastrophes which have taken place in churches built of stone, in consequence of earthquakes, to which Peru is unfortunately very liable.

Lima, like all the Spanish towns in this country, is divided by parallel streets, with others crossing

at right angles, into quadras or solid squares of houses, about a hundred and twenty yards in length on each face : a very considerable proportion of the whole town is occupied by convents and churches. Along the middle of the streets there runs a stream of water, into which all rubbish is ordered to be thrown ; but as this is seldom duly attended to, the streets become receptacles of filth from one end to the other.

The pavements, both of the carriage-way and the footpaths, have been allowed to go out of repair ; a circumstance the less attended to from there being few wheeled carriages ; all heavy work being done by asses and mules.

The Theatre, which was opened during the festivities upon the accession of the new Viceroy, was of rather a singular form ; being a long oval, the stage occupying the greater part of one side, by which means the front boxes were brought close to the actors. The audience in the pit was composed exclusively of men, and that in the galleries of women ; a fashion borrowed, I believe, from Madrid : the intermediate space was divided into several rows of private boxes.

Between the acts, the Viceroy retires to the back seat of his box, which being taken as a signal that he may be considered as absent, every man in the pit draws forth his steel and flint, lights his segar, and puffs away furiously, in order to make the most of his time; for when the curtain rises, and the Viceroy again comes forward, there can no longer be any smoking, consistently with Spanish etiquette. The sparkling of so many flints at once, which makes the pit look as if a thousand fire-flies had been let loose, and the cloud of smoke rising immediately afterwards and filling the house, are little circumstances which strike the eye of a stranger, as being more decidedly characteristic, than incidents really important. I may add, that the gentlemen in the boxes also smoke on these occasions; and I once fairly detected a lady taking a sly whiff behind her fan. The Viceroy's presence or absence, however, produces no change in the gallery aloft, where the goddesses keep up an unceasing fire during the whole evening.

CHAPTER IV.

CHILI.

EXCURSION TO THE INTERIOR—STATE OF POLITICAL
FEELING IN CHILI.

VALPARAISO, 19th of March 1821. We anchored here yesterday evening, after eighteen days passage from Lima, which is considered rather quick, the average for ships of war being somewhat more than three weeks. I landed in the evening to deliver letters and messages, being principally in answer to those we had carried on last sailing from Valparaiso, and already alluded to in the account of our proceedings at Callao. Many of the people at Valparaiso would scarcely believe that we had been in Peru at all, not being acquainted with the expeditious manner in which

passages are now made. We had been absent only seven weeks, whereas in old times as many months at least would have been required to have performed the same service. At the first house for which I had letters, the family received me with a look of disappointment, and begged reproachfully to have the letters returned, not supposing it possible that I could have delivered them ; but when they beheld the answers, their joy and gratitude knew no bounds ; the news of our arrival spread rapidly, and in ten minutes the house was filled with people beseeching us for letters. In no country could a more lively interest be expressed than by these persons for their absent friends ; and this furnishes a complete answer to the statements so often made, of their coldness and indifference in their domestic relations. After delivering all my letters and messages, I was overpowered by questions from the ladies as to the appearance, manners, and various other qualities of persons whom they had not seen, but who had married into the families of their relatives in Peru. This was a hard task ; but the little I recollected was extremely well be-

stowed, and it was pleasing to observe the effect which all this produced in developing character. Many people, who had always been cold and formal before, came up and offered their hands with a cordiality and frankness, quite contrary to what had seemed their natural disposition, but which proved ever afterwards sincere and steady.

Just as I was leaving the house to return on board, two young men came to inquire for their sister, a widow lady, of whom they had not heard for more than a year. It so happened that this very person was one of my passengers, and nothing would satisfy the brothers and their wives, and two or three more, but going on board the Conway instantly, though it was near midnight. Accordingly I stowed the whole party in my boat, and carried them off, to the great joy and astonishment of the widow.

As the Commander-in-chief was at the capital, I proceeded there on the 23d to make my report. On the 28th of March I set out from Santiago, accompanied by one of the English residents and a young officer of my ship, to pay a visit to a Chilean gentleman who resided about eighteen

leagues in the interior. The day was well advanced before we started, and we pursued our way at a rapid pace over the great plain of Santiago, apparently a dead flat; but which we discovered, upon looking back at the city, to have a considerable though very gradual ascent: so that we were now several hundred feet above the highest churches, without having perceived that we had been rising.

In a country the character of which is quite new, we are always liable to err in the ideas we form of the scenery around us. Amongst the Andes this is particularly the case; for the scale of every thing is so great, that our previous conceptions are unable to grasp the scene before us, and we run almost necessarily into mistakes respecting heights and distances, which nothing but experience can rectify. It is not at first that one is conscious of the deception; and the interest of a journey, made under such circumstances, is greatly heightened by the growing conviction that our senses are unequal to the task of duly estimating what is before us—the reality, in short, on these occasions, often outstrips the imagination.

We crossed the river Maypo by a bridge made of hide ropes, near the scene of the battle fought by San Martin on the 5th of April 1818, already alluded to in the account of the revolutions in Chili.

This bridge is curious from its simplicity, and from the close resemblance it bears to the iron bridges of suspension recently introduced into England, to which, in principle, it is precisely similar. It consists of a narrow road-way of planks laid crosswise, with their ends resting on straight ropes, suspended by means of short lines, to a set of thicker ropes drawn across the stream from bank to bank. These strong sustaining cords are six in number, three at each side of the bridge, and hang in flat curves, one above another, the short vertical lines supporting the road-way being so disposed as to distribute the weight equally. The main or suspending ropes are firmly secured to the angles of the rock on one side at the height of thirty feet from the stream ; but the opposite bank being low, it has been found necessary to correct the consequent inclination in some degree, by carrying the ropes over a high wooden frame work, and

attaching them afterwards to trees, and to posts driven into the bank. The clear span from the frame, or pier, on one side, to the face of the rock on the other, is one hundred and twenty-three feet. The materials being very elastic, the bridge waved up and down with our weight, and vibrated from side to side in so alarming a manner, that, at the recommendation of the guide, we dismounted and drove our horses, one by one, before us; but, it must be owned, neither man nor horse appeared much at ease during the passage.

Shortly after crossing the Maypo we reached the lowest range of the Andes, round the base of which the road wound amongst immense masses of rock which had been precipitated from the ridges above: and occasionally we passed through a belt of trees, growing like a fringe to the skirt of the mountains. It soon became dark; and if in broad daylight the character of the scenery was so new and stupendous, as to defy all our attempts to estimate distances and proportions, much greater was our perplexity now. In a strange country, the traveller's fancy is curiously worked upon at such moments by the indistinct images which rise be-

fore him, so that he is perplexed and bewildered at every step. He sees, for example, what he takes to be a precipitous cliff, which judging from his experience in daylight, he fancies many a league off; but in the midst of his admiration, he thrusts his head amongst the branches of an olive tree, the dark outline of which he had mistaken for that of one of the remote Andes. Or, being anxious to inquire his road, and seeing what he conceives to be a peasant's hut some fifty yards before him, he hastens forward to inquire the way; but at length to his amazement, discovers that this fancied hut is some far distant peak of the Cordillera!

The day had been calm and sultry, but the evening no sooner closed in, than we were cheered by a cool and reviving breeze, blowing gently from the mountains, like the land-winds from off the coasts of hot countries; and, no doubt, from the same cause, namely, the difference of temperature between the mountains and the plain, and the consequent difference in the weight of the air over each. The stars shone out with singular brilliancy, and we rode on in pleasing uncertainty of what was to come next. The fancy, at such

a season, is very apt to wander : and under the influence of the surrounding scenery, we soon fell into a pleasing reverie on the romantic history of the conquest, and the gorgeous descriptions we had read of the Andes. At length the silence which we had for some time maintained was suddenly interrupted by one of the party calling out, that we were entering the grounds of a gentleman who would furnish us with another guide for the remainder of the journey.

We dismounted at the door, and were shown into a bleak comfortless room, with a mud floor, a rude unfinished roof, and lighted by a solitary black tallow candle, all of which made us feel instinctively sure of a cold reception. In this, however, we were much mistaken, for the master of the house no sooner saw who we were, than he begged us to walk into his sala or drawing-room, a very different apartment from the first. As we entered, we could scarcely stand the glare of light from a dozen wax candles. The floor was covered with a rich carpet ; the roof and cornices were neatly finished, and the walls ornamented with mirrors and pictures. At the upper end of the room stood a grand piano-forte, by Broadwood,

and at the tea-table, near it, the lady of the house and her daughters received us most kindly. We soon became acquainted; and while one of the young ladies went out to gather some flowers for us, another opened the piano-forte at our request, and played very good-naturedly, while we sat chatting with the old people, who were entreating us to stay the night. There was something so unexpected in this kind of reception; and the people themselves were so obliging and agreeable, that I, for one, was very reluctant to quit such good quarters: but as it was deemed necessary by the rest to go on, we mounted our jaded horses again with a very bad grace.

But the charms of the night scene were now all gone, and the wild embellishments with which fancy, an hour before, had dressed up the scenery, were supplanted by the dark and comfortless reality. Every thing seemed to go wrong; the road was full of holes; the travellers weary of themselves, and of one another, and the journey was never to be at an end! At length, after a tedious ride, we reached the Chacra, or farm, to which we were bound, and had proceeded about half-

way up the approach, when we were overtaken by two riders, one of whom proved to be the master of the house. He immediately dismounted, and welcomed us to the country with a frankness of manner, and a kindliness of tone peculiarly pleasing to an uninvited visitor. The ladies of the family, they said, were just behind us, the whole party being on their return from a little dance in the neighbourhood. We therefore hurried on, and had our horses put away in time to hand the ladies from their carreta.

29th of March.—When we met the next morning, every one looked well pleased to find himself in the country free from the bustle and distraction of the capital. The fresh feeling, always produced by the free air of the fields, was increased on this occasion by their being covered with vines, and olive trees, and sweet-scented shrubs, and decked out with all sorts of gay blossoms. There is a genial influence in the country in all climates, under which the frost of etiquette melts away, the natural character comes into view, and many amiable qualities, heretofore unobserved, are discovered and acknowledged. But we missed the so-

ciability of the breakfast party, for in these countries the family seldom assemble till the dinner-hour, which is generally before two. Yet we found ample objects to interest us during the early part of the morning until the heat of the sun drove us into the house, long before our curiosity was satisfied.

We sat down to dinner, a very merry party, the master of the house insisting upon my taking the top of the table; a custom he said that could by no means be dispensed with. The first dish which was placed on the table was bread soup, exceedingly good, and enriched either with fish or meat, a distinction so immaterial, we thought, that our surprise was considerable when we observed a gentleman of the party start up, and, with a look as if he had swallowed poison, exclaim, "O Lord, there is fish in the soup!" and while we were wondering at this exclamation, our friend ran off to the kitchen to interrogate the cook. He returned with a most woe-begone countenance, and finished his plate of soup as if it had been the last he was ever to taste. A feeling of delicacy prevented our asking questions, although

our curiosity was raised to the highest pitch, by observing the gentleman touch nothing else, and literally go without his dinner. It was Friday, and it was in Lent, circumstances which might have accounted for his horror at meat; but it was fish which had shocked him; besides, we saw the rest of the company eating both one and the other without scruple, which puzzled us exceedingly, and the more so as the self-denying individual was really a very sensible man, and showed no other symptoms of eccentricity. We at last discovered that he had, for some reason or other, come under a religious engagement not to eat both fish and flesh, though the South Americans are permitted to do so, by an express bull in their favour, which any one may purchase who pleases. It so happened, that this conscientious individual had set his fancy this day most particularly on a meat dish close to him, never dreaming of what had been put into the soup: but fish, once tasted, his feast was at an end, and, to do him justice, he kept his vow in a manner worthy of an anchorite.

We had then the Olla, a dish celebrated in all

lands where Spanish is spoken. It consists of boiled beef, piled round with all sorts of vegetables, and well covered with a large yellow pea, called a Garbanza; and so inseparable is this union, that our "beans and bacon" is not better known in English, even in a proverbial sense, than "Olla con Garbanza" is in Spanish. Besides these dishes, we had various rich stews, and last of all, a dish of roast beef. This did not in the smallest degree resemble "the glorious roast beef of Old England;" but was a long thin, black strip of dry, burnt-up meat, without a single bone to give it a shape, and with every bit of fat cut away. Meanwhile we finished our dinner, and then partook of a capital dessert of cool bursting figs, fresh from trees within sight of the table; as were also the luscious sweet grapes, the pride of our host's heart; and lastly, the enormous purple water melon, the staff of life amongst the poorer classes in this country: to all which was added a pleasant small wine, manufactured, as our host triumphantly imparted to us, by our absent hostess.

The whole scene was highly characteristic of

the country. We sat in the cross draught of two open doors and numerous unsashed windows, enjoying the balmy air as it passed through the house, whisking in its course the dried fig and vine leaves along the floor. On one side, we could see the gravel walks of the garden, stretching far under trellised vines, and shaded by a broad belt of lofty walnut trees, which formed a grateful skreen between us and the fiery glare of the western sky. On the other hand, our view extended to the base of the Andes, fifty or sixty miles off, indistinctly seen through the waving haze caused by the fierceness of the sun's rays striking on the arid low grounds: neither bird nor beast was to be seen, nor the least speck of a cloud in the sky. The tyranny of the sun was complete. There was a solemn tranquillity in this which, while it disposed the mind to thought, took nothing from its cheerfulness. But we were soon left to enjoy it alone, as the company dropped off one by one, to take their siesta, the landlord only remaining; but as this was evidently out of civility to his guests, we took an early opportunity of slipping off to our rooms, that he also might retire.

Our host was a native Chilian, but of Spanish descent. He was a considerable landed proprietor, who passed the greater part of his time on his estate, and who, from his knowledge of farming, cattle-breeding, and the cultivation of the vine, had been enabled not only to turn his property to good account, but to obtain great influence in the country. By kindness and hospitality he drew people to his house, while his talents and information rendered him an invaluable neighbour. His wife was absent in the city for her confinement, but her father and two sisters were of our party.

Between four and five o'clock, the siesta being over, our friends rubbing their eyes gradually made their appearance; and by half past five, we were all assembled. The *carreta*, which is merely a covered cart, well supplied with mats and straw in place of springs, was ordered for the ladies, who set out to pay what they were pleased to call "*unas visitas campestres*;" in plain English, gossiping country visits.

The gentlemen rode in another direction to see the cattle selected for next day's *Matanza* or

slaughter. We were guided by a cloud of dust to the spot where the country people had collected the drove, and hemmed them into a corner. The master of the house, accompanied by the principal horseman of his farm, rode amongst the beasts, and fixing his eye upon the fattest, pointed it out to the attendants, who soon separated it from the rest, by means of their goads. In this way fifteen were selected, and being surrounded by about a dozen horsemen, were driven slowly towards the house, and finally shut up in an adjoining Corral or enclosure.

On our way homeward our host entertained us, by making his people show us the South American method of catching cattle. The instrument used is called in English a Lasso, from the Spanish Lazo, which signifies slip-knot or noose, and the operation of using it is called Lassoing. It consists of a rope made of twisted strips of untanned hide, varying in length from fifteen to twenty yards, and is about as thick as the little finger. It has a noose or running-knot at one end, the other extremity being fastened by an eye and button to a ring in a strong hide

belt or surcingle, bound tightly round the horse. The coil is grasped by the horseman's left hand, while the noose, which is held in the right, trails along the ground except when in use, and then it is whirled round the head with considerable velocity, during which, by a peculiar turn of the wrist, it is made to assume a circular form ; so that, when delivered from the hand, the noose preserves itself open till it falls over the object at which it has been aimed.

The unerring precision with which the lasso is thrown is perfectly astonishing, and to one who sees it for the first time, has a very magical appearance. Even when standing still it is by no means an easy thing to throw the lasso ; but the difficulty is vastly increased when it comes to be thrown from horseback and at a gallop, and when in addition the rider is obliged to pass over uneven ground, and to leap hedges and ditches in his course. Yet such is the dexterity of the guassos, or countrymen, that they are not only sure of catching the animal they are in chase of, but can fix, or as they term it, place their lasso on any particular part they please ; either over

the horns or the neck, or round the body ; or they can include all four legs, or two, or any one of the four ; and the whole with such ease and certainty, that it is necessary to witness the feat to have a just conception of the skill displayed. It is like the dexterity of the savage Indian in the use of his bow and arrow, and can only be gained by the arduous practice of many years. It is in fact the earliest amusement, as well as business, of these people ; for I have often seen little boys just beginning to run about, actively employed in lassoing cats, and entangling the legs of every dog that was unfortunate enough to pass within reach. In due season they become very expert in their attacks on poultry ; and afterwards in catching wild birds : so that, by the time they are mounted on horseback, which is always at an early age, they begin to acquire that matchless skill, from which no animal of less speed than a horse has the slightest chance of escaping.

Let us suppose that a wild bull is to be caught, and that two mounted horsemen, guassos as they are called in Chili, or guachos in Buenos Ayres,

undertake to kill him. As soon as they discover their prey, they remove the coil of the lasso from behind them, and, grasping it in the left hand, prepare the noose in the right, and dash off at full gallop, each swinging his lasso round his head. The first who comes within reach aims at the bull's horns, and when he sees, which he does in an instant, that the lasso which he has thrown will take effect, he stops his horse, and turns it half round, the bull continuing his course, till the whole cord has run out. The horse, meanwhile, knowing, by experience, what is going to happen, leans over as much as he can in the opposite direction from the bull, and stands trembling in expectation of the violent tug which is to be given to him by the bull when brought up by the lasso. So great indeed is the jerk which takes place at this moment, that were the horse not to lean over in the manner described, he would certainly be overturned ; but standing, as he does across the road, with his feet planted firmly on the ground, he offers sufficient resistance to stop the bull as instantaneously as if it had been shot, though the instant before he was running at

full speed. In some cases, this check is so abrupt and violent, that the animal is not only dashed to the ground, but rolls along at the full stretch of the lasso ; while the horse is drawn sideways, and ploughs up the earth with his feet for several yards. This, which takes so long to describe, is the work of a few seconds ; during which, the other horseman gallops past ; and before the bull has time to recover from the shock, places the noose over his horns, and continues advancing till this lasso also is at full stretch. The bull stupified by the fall, sometimes lies motionless on the ground ; but the men soon rouse him up, by tugging him to and fro. When on his legs, with a horseman on each side, he is like a ship moored with two cables ; and however unwilling he may be to accompany the guassos, or however great his struggles, he is irresistibly dragged along by them in whatever direction they please.

If the intention be to kill the animal for the sake of the hide and tallow alone, as is often the case, one of the guassos dismounts, and running in, cuts the bull's hamstrings with a long knife,

which he always wears in his girdle ; and, instantly afterwards, dispatches him, by a dexterous cut across the back of the neck. The most surprising thing is, the manner in which the horse, after being left by his rider, manages to preserve the lasso always tight ; this would be less difficult if the bull were to remain steady, but it sometimes happens, that he makes violent struggles to disentangle himself from the lassos, rushing backwards and forwards in a furious manner. The horse however with wonderful sagacity alters his place, and prances about, as if conscious of what he is doing, so as to resist every movement of the bull, and never to allow the lasso to be relaxed for a moment.

When a wild horse is to be taken, the lasso is always placed round the two hind legs, and, as the guasso rides a little on one side, the jerk pulls the entangled feet laterally, so as to throw him on his side, without endangering his knees or his face. Before the horse can recover the shock, the rider dismounts, and snatching his poncho or cloak from his shoulders, wraps it round the prostrate animal's head ; he then forces into his

mouth one of the powerful bits of the country, straps a saddle on his back, and, bestriding him, removes the poncho ; upon which, the astonished horse springs on his legs, and endeavours, by a thousand vain efforts, to disencumber himself of his new master, who sits quite composedly on his back ; and, by a discipline which never fails, reduces the horse to such complete obedience, that he is soon trained to lend his speed and strength in the capture of his wild companions.

During the recent wars in this country, the lasso was used as a weapon of great power in the hands of these people, who made bold and useful troops, and never fail to dismount cavalry, or to throw down the horses of those who come within their reach. There is a well-authenticated story of a party of eight or ten of them, who had never seen a piece of artillery, till one was fired at them in the streets of Buenos Ayres. Notwithstanding the effect of the fire, they galloped fearlessly up to it, placed their lassos over the cannon, and, by their united strength, fairly overturned it.

Another anecdote is related of them, which though possible enough, does not rest on such

good authority. A number of armed boats were sent to effect a landing at a certain point on the coast, guarded solely by these horsemen. The party in the boats, caring little for an enemy unprovided with fire-arms, rowed confidently along the shore. The guassos, meanwhile, were watching their opportunity, and the moment the boats came sufficiently near, dashed into the water, and throwing their lassos round the necks of the officers, fairly dragged every one of them out of their boats.

In the evening we were engaged in amusements of a very different description. Our party repaired to the house of a neighbour, an old lady, whose greatest delight was to see her friends happy about her. We were soon joined by several other families, and there being a piano-forte in the room, the inevitable consequence was a dance. If it be difficult to describe the lasso, it is quite impossible to describe the Spanish country-dance, which bears no resemblance to that known in England. It consists of a great variety of complicated figures, affording infinite opportunities for the display of grace, and for showing elegance of

figure to the greatest advantage. It is danced to waltz tunes, played in rather slow time ; and instead of one or two couples dancing at once, the whole of the set from end to end is constantly in motion. No dance can be more beautiful to look at, or more bewitching to be engaged in ; yet there is no denying, that admirable though it be for those warm regions, it is of a character unsuited to the climate and habits of England. Dancing and walking, for the last is equally looked upon as an accomplishment, are taught with great care, and I do not remember to have seen any lady who did not do both well. Differences in the figure and in the taste of the individual, will of course make distinctions quite as remarkable as are observable in other countries ; but still the universality of good dancing, and more particularly of graceful, or it may be called elegant walking, is a very remarkable feature, and well deserving of notice.

As the Chilian ladies have more or less a taste for music, and all play on the piano-forte, there seldom arises, on such occasions as this, a difficulty in finding a player. But I was surprised,

and somewhat disappointed, to see a young lady, one of the gayest and best dancers in Chili, place herself at the instrument. The gentlemen loudly appealed against this proceeding; but she maintained her place resolutely, declaring she would not dance a single step. Seeing there was some mystery in this, I took an opportunity of begging to know what could have induced a person, of so much good sense and cheerfulness, and at the same time so fond of dancing, to make so very preposterous a resolution. She laughed on hearing the subject treated with such earnestness, and confessed that nothing was farther from her own wishes or habits than her present forbearance, but that she was bound by what she called a *Promesa*, or engagement not to dance for a whole year. I begged an explanation of this singular obligation, when she told me, that, during the recent confinement of her sister, our host's wife, at a moment when her life was despaired of, her mother had made a vow, that, if she recovered, not one of the unmarried girls should dance for twelve months. Her younger sister was, however, dancing; and I found she had managed to evade the

interdict by an ingenious piece of casuistry ; arguing, that as the promise had been made by her mother in town, it could never be intended to apply to the country. The good-natured mother, who probably repented of her absurd vow, allowed that a good case of conscience had been made out ; and the pretty Rosalita danced away with a spirit which was taken up by the whole room, and a more animated ball was never seen.

30th of March.—Before breakfast to-day, we witnessed the South American method of killing cattle, a topic which, though at first sight no very delicate or inviting one, will not, I trust, prove uninteresting or disagreeable in description.

The cattle, as I mentioned before, had been driven into an enclosure, or corral, whence they were now let out, one by one, and killed ; but not in the manner practised in England ; where, I believe, they are dragged into a house, and dispatched by blows on the forehead with a pole-axe. Here the whole took place in the open air, and resembled rather the catastrophe of a grand field sport, than a deliberate slaughter. On a level space of ground before the corral were ranged in a line four

or five guassos on horseback, with their lassos all ready in their hands ; and opposite to them another set of men on foot, similarly equipped, so as to form a wide lane, extending from the gate of the corral to the distance of thirty or forty yards. When all was prepared, the leader of the guassos drew out the bars closing the entrance to the corral ; and, riding in, separated one from the drove, which he goaded till it escaped at the opening. The reluctance of the cattle to quit the corral was evident, but when at length forced to do so, they dashed forwards with the utmost impetuosity. It is said that in this country, even the wildest animals have an instinctive horror of the lasso ; those in a domestic state certainly have, and betray fear whenever they see it. Be this as it may, the moment they pass the gate, they spring forward at full speed, with all the appearance of terror. But were they to go ten times faster, it would avail them nothing against the irresistible lassos, which, in the midst of dust, and a confusion seemingly inextricable, were placed by the guassos with the most perfect correctness over the parts aimed at. There cannot be conceived a more spirited, or a

more picturesque scene than was now presented to us ; or one which, in the hands of a bold sketcher, would have furnished a finer subject. Let the furious beast be imagined driven almost to madness by thirst, and a variety of irritations, and in the utmost terror at the multitude of lassos whirling all around him ; he rushes wildly forward, his eyes flashing fire, his nostrils almost touching the ground, and his breath driving off the dust in his course :—for one short instant he is free, and full of life and strength, defying, as it were, all the world to restrain him in his headlong course ; the next moment he is covered with lassos, his horns, his neck, his legs, are all encircled by these inevitable cords, hanging loose, in long festoons from the hands of the horsemen galloping in all directions, but the next instant as tight as bars of iron ; and the noble animal lying prostrate on the ground motionless and helpless. He is immediately dispatched by a man on foot, who stands ready for this purpose with a long sharp knife in his hand ; and as soon as the body is disentangled from the lassos, it is drawn on one side, and ano-

ther beast is driven out of the corral, and caught in the same manner.

On begging to know why so many lassos were thrown at once on these occasions, we learned that the first rush of these cattle, when driven out of the corral, is generally so impetuous, that few single cords are strong enough to bear the jerk without breaking. As an experiment, a cow in a very furious state was let out, and directions given for only two men to attempt to stop her. The first lasso fell over her head, which it drew round, so that the horns almost touched her back, but the thongs snapped without stopping her; the second was intentionally placed round the fore part of the body, and it also broke without materially checking her progress. Away went the cow, scouring over the country, followed by two fresh horsemen standing erect in their stirrups, with their lassos flying round their heads, and their ponchos streaming out behind them, an animating and characteristic sight. The cow galloped, and the horses galloped, and such is the speed of cattle when accustomed to run wild, that at first the horses had but little advantage. The ground being covered

with shrubs and young trees, and full of hollow places, and sunk roads, the chace was diversified by many leaps, in which although the poor cow did well at first, the horses, ere long, gained upon her, and the nearest guasso perceiving that he was just within reach, let fly his lasso. The cow was at such a distance that it required the whole length of the rope to reach her, and the noose had become so contracted by the knot slipping up towards the end, that it was barely large enough to admit the horns ; had the cow been one foot more in advance, the circle would have become too small, and this feat is considered the perfection of the art. When the rider saw the noose fixed, he stopped and turned his horse, upon which the poor cow, her head nearly wrung off, was cast to the ground with great violence. The second horseman dashed along, and on passing the cow, instead of throwing his lasso, merely stooped on one side, and laid the noose, which he had contracted to a small circle, over her horns. This done, the guassos turned their horses' heads and trotted back with their unwilling prize, not hav-

ing been more than four or five minutes absent from the ground.

There is another method of arresting the animal's progress without using the lasso, which is said to require even more skill and presence of mind than that formidable instrument itself. A horseman is stationed a little way from the entrance of the corral, armed with a weapon called a Luna, which consists of a steel blade about a foot long, and curved as its name implies in the form of a crescent, sharpened on the concave edge, and having a pole ten or twelve feet long screwed into the middle of the blunt or convex side ; so that, when held horizontally, the horns of the crescent point forward. The rider carries this luna in his right hand, couched like a lance, the blade being then about two feet from the ground, in advance of the horse, while the staff is kept steady by passing it under the arm. Having allowed the animal to rush past, he puts spurs to his horse, gallops after it ; on coming close up, he places his weapon in such a situation, that when its right hind leg is thrown backwards, it shall enter the fork or crescent of the luna, and

by striking against the edge, which is kept as sharp as a razor, divide the tendon. The weapon is then quickly transferred to the left leg, where in like manner the least touch properly applied divides the other tendon. We saw this cruel feat performed by the principal guasso on our host's estate, who was described as being the best rider and the most expert man in that part of the country. The ground was very dry and dusty, so that by the time he overtook the bullock he was in chace of, there was such a cloud raised by the animal's feet, that we could scarcely see what was doing. The guasso contrived, however, to cut both hamstrings, but his horse becoming confused fell over the bullock, and we were in considerable alarm lest the man should be cut in two by his own weapon, or be transfixed by the beast's horns: but he never lost his self-possession, and having first flung the instrument high into the air, raised both himself and horse from the ground, and rode out of the cloud unhurt, and without having ever lost his seat.

While this more serious business was going on, a parcel of mischievous boys had perched them-

selves on a pile of firewood close to the corral; and being each armed in his way, with a lasso made of a small strip of hide, or of whip cord, got the first chance to noose the animals as they rushed out. They seldom failed to throw successfully, but their slender cords broke like cob-webs. One wicked urchin, indeed, more bold than the rest, mounted himself on a donkey that happened to be on the spot; and taking the lasso which belonged to it—for no description of animal that is ever mounted is without this essential equipment—and placing himself so as not to be detected by the men, he threw it gallantly over the first bullock's neck. As soon as it became tight, away flew the astonished donkey and his rider: the terrified boy soon tumbled off; but poor Neddy was dragged along the ground, till a more efficient force was made to co-operate with his unavailing resistance.

When a sufficient number of bullocks had been killed, they were dragged away by means of a small car, to which the heads were tied, with the bodies trailing behind on the ground. The corral or place to which they were removed was an

enclosure from fifty to sixty yards square ; the inner half, or that farthest from the entrance, being left open to the sky, while the other part was shaded with a rude sort of roof consisting of branches of trees, and long broad leaves, placed on trellis-work, forming a texture sufficiently close to exclude the sun, but not intended to afford any defence from rain ; for in these countries, it must be recollected, that wet and dry seasons recur at such stated intervals, that the inhabitants can regulate the periods of their different occupations with a much greater degree of certainty than can be done in Europe.

On entering this court we looked along a wide passage leading into the uncovered part. On the right hand stood a double line of posts, joined by cross bars ; and on the left were five separate cells, formed of posts and cross bars six or eight feet wide, and twelve or fourteen long. The rest of the ground under cover was slightly divided, by cross bars, into compartments of different sizes, with passages leading amongst them. Beyond the railings on the right hand ran a stream of clear water, shaded by some large walnut trees, the

branches of which reached to the ground, and mingled their leaves with a crowd of wild flowers, the commonest weeds, we were told, of the climate; but some of which we recognized as the cherished plants of our green-houses.

The heat in the outer space where we had witnessed the lassoing, had become so great, that we were glad to seek shelter in this cool and quiet spot. We had not been there long, before five of the bullocks which had been killed were dragged in, and placed in order, one before each of the cells described above.

Immediately three men betook themselves to each carcase; and with much dexterity, and in an incredibly short time, stripped off the hides, which were carried to the open part of the enclosure, preparatory to their being staked out and dried in the sun. I observed that the principal guasso allowed none of these hides to pass him without first cutting off a thong and trying its strength; if it broke easily he took no further notice, but if it proved tough, he ordered the hide to be put by for making lassos, always the uppermost thought in a guasso's mind. Af-

ter removing the skin, the fat and tallow were cut carefully off, and the muscles detached from their several seats, with the exact situation of which the men seem perfectly acquainted. But although their knives flashed about with great celerity, no fibres were cut across, each of the muscles being slipped out of their natural places, with a sleight of hand, which nothing but long and constant practice can teach. As fast as a portion was detached, it was carried into the adjoining cell, where it was hung on a part of the railing expressly appropriated to it, every separate portion of the animal being arranged in a certain order. The head, feet, and refuse, were carried to the other side of the passage, and placed on a thick layer of green boughs, along the margin of the stream, by this time all discoloured and blood-stained. So quickly was the carcase separated into different parts, and with so little noise or violence or apparent effort, that an active fancy might have supposed it had melted away. There was nothing in the whole course of this process at all calculated to disgust; nor any hacking,—nor hewing,—nor sawing,—each joint being dislocated as

if by magic, at the first touch of the knife. The bones also had distinct places allotted them, as well as the fat, not the slightest vestige of which was any where allowed to remain attached to the meat. When every thing was completed, and the ground clear, the leading man of each set went carefully round his cell to see that the whole was in order, and that each piece of meat was hung up correctly : the exact number of pieces I omitted to record, but it is always the same, and if any one be missing, or misplaced, it is immediately remarked by the man who inspects the cell. The head, the back-bone, and the legs, were next chopped into small pieces, and thrown into the boilers, that not a particle of fat might be lost ; and I observed they even took the pains to strip off a thin skin from each of the ribs. The finer parts of the tallow were now spread out on a frame in the shape of a boy's kite, and hung up in one of the minor divisions.

The three men who had been employed in cutting up the bullock now commenced an operation, peculiar, I believe, to South America, namely, the preparation of what is called by us jerked

beef, a term probably derived from the local name charqui. The men seated themselves on low stools in the different cells, and began cutting each of the detached portions of meat into long strips, or ribbands uniform in size from end to end ; some of these which were cut from the larger pieces, being several yards in length, and about two inches in width. To perform this operation neatly requires considerable expertness. The piece of meat is held in the left hand, and at each slice is hitched round so as to offer a new place to the knife ; and in this way the strip of meat seems to unwind itself, like a broad tape from a ball, till at last nothing remains. We tried to perform this ourselves, but continually cut the strip across before it had attained any length. When the whole has been treated in this manner, it is allowed to hang under cover for a certain time, during which it acquires a black colour ; and owing to the heat and dryness of the air, speedily loses much of its moisture. The meat is afterwards exposed to the sun till thoroughly dried, and being then made up into great

bales, strongly tied round with a net-work of thongs, becomes the jerked beef of commerce.

After breakfast we varied our amusements, by forming a party to ride to the Lake of Aculéo. We had to wind for some time through the valleys of the lower Andes, before reaching the Lake, which lay placidly amongst the mountains. Perhaps it is the smoothness and delicacy of finish, as it were, of a mountain lake, together with its unassuming solitude, compared with the bold and rugged majesty of the surrounding scenery, which give it so much grace and beauty. It may be, too, that a scene like this, altogether without artificial embellishment, is more engaging from its simplicity than one enriched with towns, and ornamented with villas and gardens, and other works of man, in the brilliant manner of the Italian lakes.

In strictness, however, the Lake of Aculéo is not altogether desolate; for we could see here and there a cottage amongst the luxuriant groves skirting its margin on every side. But these served rather, I fancied, only to augment the solitude; and the eye wandered more frequently to the lofty

snow ridges above, and to the vast flocks of undisturbed wild fowl floating on the breast of the lake, than to these faint traces of population. One of the company who possessed an active fancy, entertained us by drawing a lively picture of what the lapse of a century might produce here, if the country continued to prosper. He planted villages along the banks, cut commodious roads on the sides of the mountains, and covered the lake with boats ; substituting the busy hum of man for the present silence of the scene. While our ingenious friend was thus enlarging on the possible effects of these anticipated improvements, another gentleman, who cared little for such speculations, was bitterly lamenting that we had not brought our guns ; as the birds, which showed no alarm at our presence, allowed us to pass quite close ; so near indeed were they to us, that we could distinguish wild ducks, swans, and flamingoes, besides many others of which we knew nothing ; and once we were startled by the sudden appearance of a flock of wild parrots, which passed close overhead, screaming most discordantly, while their beautiful plumage flashing in the sun,

was the most brilliant sight imaginable. The flamingo we recognized by the delicate pink colour under the wings.

When travelling, there often arises a peculiar interest out of circumstances, which, however trivial in themselves, distinctly speak to the senses of a new and foreign land : thus, what the Andes had failed to do, the sight of a single bird effected at once. A lofty snow ridge is comparatively speaking a familiar object, and associates itself readily with European recollections ; but we feel at once, that a bird so remarkable in its appearance as the flamingo, can belong only to a foreign and different climate.

In the evening, most of the ladies whom we had met at the dance last night, came to the house in which we were living ; but their hilarity seemed to have fled with the sound of the music, and nothing more formal or prim than they were can be easily imagined. They ranged themselves along the wall in so determined a manner, that it would have tried the skill of the most hardy tactitian to have broken their line. Presently, however, an accidental opening weakened their position, and

at once did the business. In the end, the ladies confessed they were well pleased that we had thus forced them, in spite of themselves, to show how agreeable they could be, even without the aid of a fiddle.

31st.—Our country-party broke up to-day, to the great regret of us strangers, at least. The old gentleman with his eldest daughter, and our friend of the tender conscience, together with my young officer and myself, formed the riding party to the city. The day was comparatively cool, so that our journey was most agreeable ; and to us it had a double interest, since we now passed those places in day-light over which we had before travelled in the dark ; and it was curious to observe how very erroneous all our impressions had been of every feature of the landscape. In such company, the road, formerly so tedious, was reduced to nothing ; and before we thought half the distance accomplished, we discovered that we were entering the grounds of our hospitable friends who had entertained us so kindly a few evenings before. The lady of the house had, on that occasion, more than once lamented that, owing to its being dark, she

could not show us her garden, the pride of her life; she was therefore delighted to have caught us on our return, and led the way with great glee to her favourite spot. It certainly was a brilliant spectacle; for in these climates where nature does so much, the least assistance multiplies the effect in a manner, of which, in cold regions, we have no conception. But our good dame, who thought of nothing less than letting nature have her course, had planted her flowers, and cut her walks and borders into the form of beasts, birds, and fishes; not only had she displayed the figures of the animals in a sort of relief, but she had attended minutely to the appropriate colours of each, by the careful distribution of the proper flowers; and, to do her justice, the spot looked more like a menagerie than a garden!

We reached the bridge of Maypo at noon, and having made preparations for dining on the road, we resolved to stop, during the heat of the day, at the Post House on the top of the bank. Our dinner was plain and good, and we were merrily eating our olla, when a new guest stepped in;—a coarse, loud-talking, impudent sort of personage,

who seated himself unceremoniously at a vacant corner of the table, displayed his wallet, and drew forth a handful of charqué, or jerked beef, and a great lump of cheese. The beef he sent out by one of the guassos to be pounded between any two stones on the road; and while the charqué was undergoing this primitive cookery, he cut up his cheese, and handed it round with the air of a man at the head of his own table. For my part I was greatly diverted with the fellow's ease and impudence; but my friends, especially the young lady, were shocked that I should witness such an intrusion, which they could not prevent; for although the table was theirs, it is the privilege in this country of travellers to associate with and claim assistance from one another on the road, without regard to distinctions of rank.

When dinner was over, and the table removed, the floor was spread with mattresses and beds preparatory to the siesta. There were not beds enough for every one, and this being the only room in the house, a momentary dilemma arose, but was soon settled by the lady taking the upper station next the wall, and placing her father by her, and so on with the rest of the party. Our self-elected com-

panion seeing a vacant space, spread out one of his horse-cloths, and drawing his saddle under his head, was asleep in a moment—an example soon followed by the others.

The sun went down while we were still a league or two from the city, and his rays, by passing through the thick haze before described, shed a remarkable gold-coloured light on the spires and domes of the churches; whilst the tops of the mountains, the highest of which were covered with snow, still retained the clear bright sunshine. In a short time the light began to fade, even on the highest peaks, and at every successive moment a change took place in the colour of the different ranges; the lower ones first catching the golden tint, which was soon changed for a variety of pink, and lastly, for a dull cold grey; so that the whole view in the eastern quarter was variegated in the most singular manner, according to the height, each ridge of hills being thus prominently distinguished from all the others, and its outline most distinctly displayed. It was rather a disappointment to discover that our fair companion, with all her good sense, had not much feeling for the magnificent beauties of her native spot. In reply to

our reproaches on her insensibility, she said it might be very wrong not to admire what she saw, but as she had never been out of the valley in her life, and, consequently, had no other scenery to compare with this, she was, at least, unconscious of its superiority to the rest of the world.

3d of April.—I rode this morning from the city in company with two English gentlemen, to see a waterfall. To attain this object, we had climbed from the plain on which Santiago stands, by a long and steep path, to the height of about four hundred feet. We imagined ourselves to be mounting the side of a steep ridge, and that on reaching the top we should look down the other side on the low ground beyond. But, instead of this, we found ourselves on the level of a great plain joining that which we had come from, which also most strangely appeared to be exactly at the same elevation with it, notwithstanding the additional altitude we had gained. This singular optical deception must have been caused by the extreme regularity of the slope in the ground from the point we stood upon to the plain we had left. Indeed, the enormous scale of every thing around us, with the dimensions of which we were yet far from suf-

ficiently familiar, made it impossible to appreciate correctly either heights, distances, or levels.

One of the party happening to descry at a distance the country-house of a friend, we agreed to try our fortune there, as we had been disappointed with the waterfall, which proved quite contemptible. The master of the house, an Old Spaniard, was delighted to see us, and very kindly took us over his vineyards, and his olive groves. His vines, which were loaded with fruit, were planted in the manner of those at the Cape of Good Hope, forming rows like gooseberry-bushes, and supported only here and there as occasion required. He showed us also his wine-presses, and his immense cellars, along which were ranged many hundreds of Botijas, or gigantic jars, capable of holding, at least, a tun each. He had been a naval captain in his day, but having become disgusted with the service, and being of a quiet disposition, he had bought this place, married, and given up all thoughts of honour and glory ; so that we found him most amiably ignorant of all that was passing beyond the boundaries of his estate : but with respect to machinery, the manufacture of wine, or the culture of olive-

trees and vines, he was full of information, and caught eagerly at any hints for their improvement.

In the evening we called on several families to take leave, it being our intention to return immediately to Valparaiso. At one house we were the only visitors; at another we could scarcely get in, owing to the crowd of company, and when at length we gained a seat near the ladies, we found it not easy nor agreeable to converse in our lame Spanish before so great an audience of natives. Our reception at the first house was much warmer, and proved more satisfactory, and more useful to those who were anxious to improve themselves in the language. At the other we saw a larger company, but made fewer and less valuable acquaintances. In both, and, indeed, I may say in every house, there seemed to prevail but one kindly disposition to treat us with attention and hospitality; and to assist us, with the most polite, friendly, and patient assiduity, in acquiring their language: a remark which may be extended to the whole coast which we visited.

The following anecdote was, at this time, current in the city; and from all we heard during

our short stay at Santiago, we were satisfied that the influence of the priests had been gradually on the decline; and that a more liberal spirit, especially in matters of education, had recently been introduced and was fast spreading over the country.

A gentleman had thought fit to instruct his daughter in French,—a circumstance which the girl, unconscious of any crime, mentioned in the course of her confession to the priest, who, after expressing the greatest horror at what he heard, denounced the vengeance of Heaven upon her and her father, refused to give her absolution, and sent the poor creature home in an agony of fear. The father soon discovered the cause, and after some correspondence with the confessor, went to the head of the Government, who sent for the priest, questioned him on the subject, and charged him with having directly interfered with the letter and spirit of the constitution, which gave encouragement to every species of learning. The priest affected to carry matters with a high hand, and even ventured to censure the director for meddling with things beyond his authority. This was soon settled: a council was immediate-

ly called, and the next day it was known throughout the city, that the priest had been seen crossing the frontiers, escorted by a military guard. An account of the whole transaction, with the correspondence between the parent and the confessor, was also published officially in the Gazette, and full authority given in future to every person to teach any branch of knowledge not inconsistent with morals and religion.

From the 5th of April to the 26th of May, we remained at Valparaiso; but our occupations, however interesting to ourselves, were not of a nature to be here detailed. The few leisure moments which our professional avocations left us, were employed in making surveys, in astronomical observations, principally on a comet which remained in sight from the 1st of April to the 8th of June, and in experiments with Captain Kater's pendulum, the object of which was to determine the figure of the earth.

The observations on the comet were successful, as they furnished data for the computation of its orbit; a task performed by Dr Brinkley of Dublin. The results of his computations have been published, together with the original obser-

vations, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1822.

The experiments with the pendulum were of a more delicate and complicated nature, and required much care and exclusive attention. But the circumstances under which we were placed deprived us of that degree of leisure and abstracted thought, which this difficult and extensive problem requires. In all its details, however, it carries along with it the liveliest interest; yet only those who have been similarly employed can have a correct idea of the cruel disappointment which a cloudy night, or any other interruption, produces in the midst of a series of observations. On such occasions, when all our hopes were gone, and our day's labour wasted, for want of a few clear hours of star-light, we employed the unwished-for leisure in visiting our neighbours near the observatory, or in calling on the English residents, and other well-informed persons. In this manner we were enabled to form a tolerable estimate of the state of political feeling at Valparaiso, where the intercourse with strangers was the greatest; and by comparing it with that at Santiago, of which, also, we had now seen a good deal, to draw

conclusions on the grand question of the effect of the Revolution on public opinion throughout the country.

At the port, in consequence of the number of arrivals, there is certainly to be found, occasionally, more exact information on particular points of foreign news than in the capital ; but in the latter there is much more general information, owing no doubt to the extensive diffusion of knowledge and intelligence amongst the inhabitants than at the port. They know, accordingly, with tolerable precision, not only what is passing in other parts of South America, but have a clearer idea of European affairs than I had been led to expect ; for they begin to be fully sensible of their own importance in the world, and to see the necessity of being acquainted with the proceedings of other states. To this incipient feeling of national dignity, they add a deep-seated and resolute enthusiasm in favour of independence.

Of civil liberty I am not sure that the Chilians have as yet equally clear and correct notions ; but nothing is more decided than their determination not to submit again to any foreign yoke ;

and I should conceive from all I have been able to learn that, under any circumstances, the Spanish party in Chili would be found small and contemptible. Every day deepens these valuable sentiments, and will render the reconquest of the country more and more remote from possibility. The present free trade, above all, maintains and augments these feelings ; for there is not a single arrival at the port which fails to bring some new article of use or of luxury, or which does not serve, by lowering the former prices, to place within reach of the inferior ranks many things known before only to the wealthy ; to extend the range of comforts and enjoyments ; and to open new sources of industry.

Amongst a people circumstanced as the South Americans have been, debarred for ages from the advantages of commerce, this change is of the last importance ; and it is pleasing to reflect that while our merchants are consulting their own interests, and advancing the prosperity of their country, they are at the same time, by stimulating at once and gratifying the wants of a great people, adding incalculably to the amount of human happiness. By thus creating higher tastes

and new wants, they produce fresh motives to exertion, and give more animating hopes to whole nations, which without such powerful and immediate excitement, might, for aught we know, have long remained in their ancient state of listlessness and ignorance. Every man in the country, rich or poor, not only practically feels the truth of this, but knows distinctly whence the advantage is derived ; and it is idle therefore to suppose that blessings which come home so directly to all men's feelings, and which so manifestly influence their fortunes and happiness, can be easily taken from them.

There are, no doubt, many defects in the administration of affairs in Chili : occasional bad faith, and occasional oppression ; and sometimes very inconvenient disturbances, and partial political changes ; but these are of no moment in so vast a question. The barrier which has so long dammed up the tide of human rights and free action, has been at length removed ; and the stream is assuredly not to be stopped by any thing from without : and what is internal that might produce mischief, is rapidly improving as men advance in

intelligence and acquire a deeper interest in good order. An invasion, indeed, might cause much misery and confusion, and tend for a time to keep back the moral and political improvement of the country ; but the reaction would be inevitable, and ere long the outraged country would spring forwards to life and liberty with tenfold vigour.

By means of foreign intercourse, and by the experience and knowledge of themselves acquired by acting for the first time as freemen, they will come to know their own strength : by learning also to respect themselves, which they could hardly have done before, they will be ready to respect a government formed of themselves ; and, instead of despising and hating their rulers, and seeking to counteract their measures, they will join heartily in supporting them when right, or in exerting a salutary influence over them when wrong. At all events even now, all parties would unite upon the least threat of an attack ; and so the result will prove, should any thing so wild and unjust and impolitic be attempted.

CHAPTER V.

COASTING VOYAGE.

ARICA—ANDES—YLO—MOLLENDÓ.

ON the 26th of May we sailed from Valparaiso, and proceeded along the coast to Lima. During the greater part of this voyage the land was in sight, and we had many opportunities of seeing not only the Andes, but other interesting features of the country. The sky was sometimes covered by a low dark unbroken cloud, overshadowing the sea, and resting on the top of the high cliffs which guard the coast; so that the Andes, and, indeed, the whole country, except the immediate shore, were then screened from our view. But at some places this lofty range of cliffs was intersected by deep gullies, called quebradas, connected with extensive valleys stretching far into the interior. At

these openings we were admitted to a view of regions, which, being beyond the limits of the cloud, and therefore exposed to the full blaze of the sun, formed a brilliant contrast to the darkness and gloom in which we were involved. As we sailed past, and looked through these mysterious breaks, it seemed as if the eye penetrated into another world ; and had the darkness around us been more complete, the light beyond would have been equally resplendent with that of the full moon, to which every one was disposed to compare this most curious and surprising appearance.

As the sun's rays were not, in this case, reflected from a bright snowy surface, but from a dark-coloured sand, we are furnished, by analogy, with an answer to the difficulties sometimes started, with respect to the probable dark nature of the soil composing the moon's surface.

7th of June.—We anchored off Arica about mid-day, and on landing found the town almost completely deserted, and exhibiting in every part marks of having been recently the scene of military operations. The houses had been broken open and pillaged, the doors were mostly unhing-

ed and gone, the furniture was destroyed, the shops and store-houses were empty. The first house we went to was that of the person styled Governor: he was stretched on a mattress laid on the floor, for no bed-stead or other vestige of furniture was left; and he was suffering under the cold fit of an ague. His wife and daughter were in an adjoining room, where they had collected a few friends; but they looked most disconsolate and miserable. The town had been attacked by a Patriot force, and had, as usual, suffered by being made the scene of conflict. Most of the people had fled to the interior, and the empty streets and houses gave a silent desolation to the place, which was very striking. Such of the inhabitants as were obliged to remain, either from sickness or from other causes, were reduced to severe privations. We saw some families that had not a table nor a bed left, nor a chair to offer us when we entered; and the governor's wife declared she had not a change of dress; her daughter was in the same distress; a pretty little round-faced modest girl, whose attempts to tie a piece of a handkerchief round her neck, in the absence

of all her wonted finery, was affecting enough. The people in general were silent, with an air of deep-settled anger on their countenances. That species of grief which breaks out in fretfulness and complaint is not characteristic either of the Spaniards or their descendants ; and I have invariably observed amongst both a great degree of composure in their sorrow.

An English gentleman, who was passenger in the Conway, having letters to deliver to a Spanish merchant, we hunted long for him amongst the desolate streets, and at length learned that he, like the rest, had fled to the interior. We had some difficulty in getting mounted, but at length, set off in quest of the Spaniard up the valley of Arica, the country round which is, in the truest sense of the word, a desert ; being covered with sand as far as the eye can reach, without the slightest trace or hope of vegetation. The ground is varied by high ridges, immense rounded knolls, and long flat steppes, and far off, we get occasional glimpses of the lower ranges of the Andes, but, high and low, they are all alike,—one bleak, comfortless, miserable, sandy waste. The colour of

the ground is sometimes black, generally of a dark brown, and here and there a streak of white occurs ; but nothing more barren, forlorn, or uninhabitable, was ever seen. Nor can it be well conceived without being witnessed ; at least all the ideas I had formed of such a scene fell infinitely short of the reality ; which had the effect of depressing the spirits in a remarkable degree, and inspiring a horror which it is difficult to describe or account for.

In the middle of the valley ran a small stream of water, accompanied in its course through the desert by a strip of rich green, infinitely grateful to the eye, from the repose it afforded, after looking over the surrounding country. The road was judiciously carried amongst the trees, near the margin of the stream ; and so luxuriant was the vegetation, that we fairly lost sight of the neighbouring hills amongst the great leaves of the banana, and the thick bushy cotton trees, the pods of which were in full blossom.

Being in quest of adventures, we rode up to the first house we came to, which we found occupied by a respectable old Don, a merchant of

Arica, who had been totally ruined by the recent events of the war. He described the battles to us, and in very affecting terms recounted his own misfortunes, and, what seemed to distress him more, the loss of a great quantity of property belonging to others, entrusted to his care. His family were about him, but they were equally destitute ; and the picture was every moment heightened by some little touch of distress, too trifling to be described, or to be thought much of at a distance. There is a romantic or picturesque sort of interest which belongs to well-described distress, that has no existence in the reality. In the one case, a multitude of small well-told circumstances, by giving force and apparent truth of effect to the imaginary picture, render it pleasing ; but the very same circumstances, when actually witnessed, produce a totally opposite emotion. The universal look of sorrow, for example, the total discomfort, the pitiable make-shifts, the absence of ease and cheerfulness, the silence, the disordered aspect of every thing, the misplaced furniture, the neglected dress, and innumerable other details, all produce at the time a painful degree of com-

miseration for the sufferers ; widely different from that pleasing sort of pity which description excites.

After a long search, we discovered the house of the Spaniard we were in quest of ; an elderly man, who laughed and joked about the recent disasters in a manner that at first surprised us exceedingly ; but we soon saw that it was the wild mirth of despair, a sort of feverish delirium ; for he, too, was utterly ruined and broken-hearted ; and soon relapsed, from the excitement our presence had caused, into a gloomy despondency. Whilst he and the gentleman, who had brought him letters, were discussing their business, I made acquaintance with a pretty little brown damsel, upon whom the distress of the times had fallen but lightly ; for she smiled through all, and seemed very happy. She was a clever and conversible person, but resisted, with great adroitness, all our attempts to make out in what relation she stood to the master of the house ; leaving us in doubt whether she were his wife, his mistress, his daughter, or his maid. She showed us over the beautiful garden and dressed grounds

round the house ; and we were well pleased to have our thoughts taken off the painful stretch in which they had been kept all day by the contemplation of so much wretchedness and unmerited calamity.

On returning to the town, we paid a visit to the curate, who showed us the church which had been sacrilegiously broken open : the whole place, in fact, excited such a feeling of horror, that we were very glad to get on board again to a scene of order, and peace, and comfort.

8th of June.—A party was again made to visit the valley, and we rode several leagues farther than we did yesterday, the people every where receiving us with kindness and hospitality ; and the more we receded from the town, where the resistance had been made, the fewer symptoms of the war were to be seen. They entertained us generally with delicious fruits, and a small clear white wine made on the spot ; they placed before us also olives, some fresh, and others salted, but both in their ripe state, and full of oil ; these are eaten with bread, and small slices of raw onions. At another house they gave us water melons of the

richest and juiciest kind, which they eat along with cheese and a sour kind of plum. Their tables were placed in a verandah, or in a covered court, left open on all sides, and here and there in the roof also, to allow the breeze to pass freely through. The houses were built of sun-dried bricks, plastered with mud, and thatched with palm leaves; and their external appearance was shabby enough, which we regretted the more, from their being so beautifully situated; generally under the shade of some great tree, and thickly begirt with bananas, figs, and other tropical fruit trees, and guarded by hedges of magnificent aloes, and nopals, or prickly pears. The gentle stream of water hissed along the sand in its course through the grounds, which owed all their fertility and beauty to its influence. Ten minutes walk on either side of the rivulet brought us to the edge of the desert, condemned, for want of moisture, to perpetual sterility; and, indeed, along the whole coast of Peru, no rain ever falls, though at some few places the soil is occasionally refreshed by mists and dews.

The tract of country, which is an irremediable

desert, may be said to extend for more than sixteen hundred miles along the shores washed by the Pacific; that is, from Coquimbo in Chili, nearly to the entrance of the Guayaquil River, or from 4° to 30° south latitude. This vast and desolate region, which lies between the great chain of the Andes and the sea, varies in breadth from thirty to a hundred miles, and is traversed by very few rivers, none of them of any magnitude: wherever a stream does occur, the adjacent soil of the valley becomes capable of the highest cultivation; but except at these rare spots, no trees are found, and the scenery is every where uninteresting. The barren high country along the inner margin of this uninterrupted desert is rich in mineral treasures; and there prevails, in consequence, an idle notion in the country, that nature, in such cases, capriciously withholds her treasures from the surface; and conversely, when the country is capable of high cultivation, denies to it the riches of the mine. Such is the stubborn nature of prejudice and error once admitted, that although this absurd notion is contradicted by a thousand well-known facts, the multitude

still go on repeating the fallacy, and reasoning upon it with the same confidence as if it were true.

On the 9th of June we sailed from Arica, and steered along shore to the north-west. In the evening of that day we had a fine view of the Cordillera, or highest ridge of the mountains, not less than between eighty and a hundred miles off. It was only when the ship was at a considerable distance from the shore that the higher Andes came in sight; for when near to it, the lower ranges, themselves of great height, intercepted the remote view. But when we stretched off thirty or forty miles, these intermediate ridges sunk into insignificance, while the chain of snowy peaks rose in great magnificence behind them. It sometimes even happened that the lower ranges, which had entirely obstructed the view of the Cordillera, when viewed at no great distance from the coast, were actually sunk below the horizon, by the curvature of the earth, when the distant ridges were still distinctly in sight, and more magnificent than ever. We were occasionally surprised, when we had little expectation of see-

ing the Cordillera, to behold their snowy tops towering above the clouds, and apparently so close, that it required a considerable degree of experience, and a strong effort of reason, to remove them in imagination to their real distance. At first we were disappointed to find them so much lower than we had anticipated; but this arose from a misconception of their distance, and gave way gradually to the highest admiration, when we became sensible by measurements, and by due reflection, how far they were from us. We made observations on some, which, though upwards of a hundred and thirty miles off, were quite distinctly visible.

The pleasure which this constant view of the Andes afforded is not to be described; and we watched every morning for the day to break with the greatest anxiety, certain of the highest gratification. Our enjoyment from this source was at times very short lived, at others it lasted throughout the whole day. One morning, in particular, we were much mortified when the day dawned, to see no mountains in the eastern quarter; since we were not above a hundred miles from the

shore ; no land, however, could be distinguished. Presently the sun began to show himself above the horizon, and I have no language to tell the degree of interest which was excited, when we discovered on his disk, as he rose, the outline of a distant summit of the Cordillera clearly and sharply traced ; but which was so far removed as to be totally invisible, except at this moment, when, being interposed between us and the sun, it intercepted a portion of his light, disclosed its situation for a few seconds, and then vanished again into thin air.

Our thoughts, however, were at this stage of the voyage called off from matters of taste and curiosity, by a series of anxious official duties connected with the British trade on this part of the coast. As I do not feel myself at liberty to enter into any of the details of these proceedings, I shall omit all mention of them, and pass on to matters perhaps of less interest, but more immediately characteristic of the country and the times.

On the 12th of June we anchored at Ylo, a town which, as well as Arica, is often celebrated in the

voyages of Dampier and the old Buccaneers. We landed at a little sandy beach, sheltered from the swell of the sea by a reef of rocks, on which the surf broke with prodigious violence, and covered half the bay with foam. We were greeted by two men and a woman: the lady was evidently a native: her two companions also were deeply dyed with aboriginal blood; one was a young and active man, the other an old ragged beggar-like person. I asked the first to point out the Alcaldé's house. "This is the Alcaldé himself," said he, pointing to his aged companion; and certainly of all the constituted authorities whom we had to deal with on the shores of the Pacific, the 'Alcaldé or Mayor' of Ylo was the least like what the imagination conceives of a chief magistrate. But things must be judged with reference to their mutual fitness; and in this view, our shabby Alcaldé was appropriate to his office; for in his town we encountered only three living things—a half-dressed wild-looking Patriot soldier—an Indian from the mountains, asleep in the middle of the street—and a lean, half-starved, solitary jack-ass. Most of the houses were without doors, so

that the sand drifted through them at every blast of the sea-breeze, which had just set in. A walk of five minutes brought us to an olive grove, under the shade of which we trode on a rich coating of grass ; and after wandering a little onwards, we reached a rivulet completely arched over by trees ; the branches of which meeting above the stream, were interlaced and matted together by innumerable creepers ; and overlaid with so thick a mantle of leaves and blossoms, that not a single ray of the sun was permitted to reach the water. A little path conducted us to an opening in this verdant screen, where a rude bridge, formed of two trees, laid from side to side, invited us to cross, although we saw no house, nor living creature. We had hardly reached the opposite bank, when a cock crowed, and we found ourselves, in the next moment, close to a cottage completely enveloped in the luxuriant foliage I have been describing.

A fine old dame presented herself, and although, no doubt, somewhat surprised at the sight of visitors so unexpected, she welcomed us with that intuitive sort of politeness which cha-

racterizes the whole population of the South American coast. Having spread mats on the grass for us, she sent her sons to collect guavas, and brought out a little bottle of aguardiente, that we might refresh ourselves after our walk; and all with such simple earnestness of good will, that we knew not how to express our obligations, or to offer any adequate return.

On our way back, the Alcaldé told us the cause of the present deserted state of the town, and described the miseries of the war in language which showed him worthy of a higher office. We invited him to go on board the Conway, but could not prevail upon him to accompany us.

In the evening we got under weigh, and, in the course of the night, stole gently along shore by means of the land-wind, which was just sufficient to fill the sails, dripping wet with the heavy dew. In the morning of the 13th of June we anchored in the open roads of Mollendo, for there are no harbours on this coast; a circumstance nearly immaterial, since the wind is always so gentle, that ships anchor and lie exposed in perfect security. The water being deep, vessels are obliged to ap-

proach the shore, within a quarter of a mile, before they can find anchoring ground ; and, as there is nothing to break the prodigious swell which rolls in from the Pacific against the rocky coast, a surf is caused of enormous magnitude, which dashes up and roars along the base of the cliffs in the most terrific manner, trying the nerves of strangers, who, in spite of their conviction that all is safe, and that no storm will occur, cannot at once divest themselves of the most disagreeable associations, connected with a shore so formidable in appearance.

The operation of landing, at such a place, is both difficult and dangerous, especially at the full and change of the moon, when the swell is always much increased ; a remark which applies to the whole coast. I had been told that ships' boats seldom succeeded in crossing the surf, and that the balsa, or canoe of the country, was the proper thing to use ; I made the experiment, however, in my own boat, which was accordingly swamped, and I got soundly ducked for my pains. The balsa, which we employed ever afterwards, is made of two entire seal-skins inflated, placed side by side, and connected by cross pieces of wood, and strong lashings

of thongs ; over all a platform of cane mats forms a sort of deck, about four feet wide, and six or eight feet long. At one end the person who manages the balsa kneels down, and by means of a double-bladed paddle, which he holds by the middle, and strikes alternately on each side, moves it swiftly along ; the passengers, or goods, being placed on the platform behind him. The buoyancy of these balsas enables them to cross the surf in safety, and without wetting the passengers, at times when an ordinary boat would inevitably be swamped. All the goods which go to the interior, at this part of the coast, are landed in this manner. The great bars of silver, and the bags of dollars also, which are shipped in return for the merchandize landed, pass through the surf on these tender, though secure conveyances.

The Alcaldé, or Governor, was a more dignified personage than our friend at Ylo, in as much as he had under him a guard of six soldiers, and a population of nearly one hundred souls. As he treated us in the best manner he could, it was but common civility to give him and his friends a dinner in return. Such grotesque-looking company,

however, having rarely been seen before to enter the cabin, many a smile was raised on board the ship at the expence of the captain and his guests.

The town of Mollendo, which is the sea-port of the great city of Arequipa, sixty miles inland, consists of forty or fifty huts built of reed mats; without any coating of mud, as the climate requires no exclusion of air. Each hut is surrounded by a deep shady verandah, and is covered by a flat cane roof. There are no windows; and, of course, no chimneys; and the doors, like the walls, are of basket-work. The original ground, with all its inequalities, forms the floors—in short, a more primitive town was never built. The inhabitants of this rude sea-port were kind, and remarkably gentle in their manners. All the women were small, but elegantly formed; with fine black eyes and a bright copper complexion; very Peruvian-looking; and, though extremely lively, and even merry when encouraged, they seemed so timorous and sensitive, that at first we were afraid to speak to them, lest they should fly off like so many startled deer.

We wished next day to walk over the country, and, if possible, to reach the top of one of the hills

in the neighbourhood; but the ground being covered with a snow-white powder, threw up so disagreeable a reflection, that we were forced to return half blinded by the glare, and choked with dust. This powder, which, we were informed, was many years ago thrown out from the great volcano of Arequipa, covers the whole country to a considerable extent.

On the 20th we left Mollendo, and sailed along the coast with a fresh and fair wind, till the evening of the 24th of June; when we anchored in Callao Roads, after a passage of twenty-nine days from Valparaiso.

CHAPTER VI.

PERU.

OCCUPATION OF LIMA BY THE PATRIOTS.

IN our absence, the campaign had made considerable progress in Peru, and the Viceroy, pressed severely by want, and menaced by the growing enmity of the districts surrounding the capital, had requested an armistice. The reason assigned by the Viceroy was the arrival of a Commissioner from Spain, Don Manuel Abreu. This was agreed to by San Martin, and hostilities had ceased for two months, during which the respective deputies frequently met, and many projects for an accommodation were discussed, without any satisfactory result. The object which the Spaniards seemed desirous of attaining was, that an appeal to the mother country should be made by the Colonists, and that, in the mean time, a

truce should be agreed upon, until the Cortes had considered the petition of the inhabitants. San Martin, on the other hand, considered the independence of the country a *sine qua non*, which must precede any other arrangement whatsoever. The expedition entrusted to his command, he said, had the independence of Peru for its express object ; and he could never allow that point to be relinquished or modified in any shape. If this were once admitted by the Spaniards, and received throughout the country, San Martin declared himself ready to enter into any terms, and even offered to go in person to Spain, as one of the deputies, to treat with the Cortes. The Viceroy also, to prove an equal anxiety that some terms of accommodation should be arranged, offered to give up the Castle of Callao as a guarantee for his sincerity, in the event of his proposal for a truce being agreed to.

An interview took place between San Martin and the Viceroy ; at which, after much discussion, it was agreed that the independence of Peru should be acknowledged by the Spaniards, in conjunction with the Chilians. Every thing seemed to be settled amicably, when the whole of this

pacific plan was overturned by the violent interference of General Valdes, a Spanish officer of great authority, and strongly attached to the Royal cause. As he had been chiefly instrumental in raising La Serna to the Viceroyalty, his influence prevailed, and the only opportunity for concluding the war was lost.

The interview between the two chiefs is described as having been extremely interesting; and from all that passed, both parties appeared perfectly sincere and cordial.

Thus every proposition in the end led to nothing, and the armistice was dissolved about the time of our arrival. The first news we heard was, that the Royalist army meant to abandon the capital, and to retire to the interior, where they were more certain of supplies. The truth probably was, that the revolutionary principles disseminated by San Martin had taken such deep root in Lima, and the surrounding country, that the Viceroy felt himself insecure in that quarter, and was willing to try a different mode of warfare, after having in vain endeavoured to stem the torrent of new opinions which the expedition had introduced. He well knew that San Martin's great art consist-

ed in winning to his cause all persons within his reach, and in stimulating them to assert their claim to independence. The policy of the Royalists, therefore, required that some change of plan should be adopted, and it was resolved to yield for the present to the storm. Whether these were the Viceroy's real motives or not, is immaterial. I had better, and more frequent opportunities of hearing what were General San Martin's views, and I therefore give them with more confidence. How far his professions were sincere, or, if sincere, his plans were wise, it is very difficult to say. They certainly appeared to many people very judicious at the time, as they were uniformly followed by the success which he anticipated; and I am free to confess, that whatever may have been his subsequent conduct, his measures, at this juncture, seemed to me to be marked with much sagacity, prudence, and foresight. The political maxims, by which he professed to be guided, will be given in detail, as well as his subsequent conduct; and although it be true, that they were not eventually found, in every minute detail, consistent with each other, his original plans and professions were not, on that account alone, the less

judicious or appropriate to the particular times. It is my present purpose to describe merely what I actually saw, accompanied by such reflections only as seem calculated to give clearness to that description, without the most distant view to the advancement of any party-question, or political controversy. Even had my opportunities enabled me to collect adequate information respecting all that was passing at the moment, I must still have left the inquiry incomplete, on quitting the spot.

25th of June.—I had an interview this day with General San Martin, on board a little schooner, a yacht of his own, anchored in Callao Roads for the convenience of communicating with the deputies, who, during the armistice, had held their sittings on board a ship in the anchorage.

There was little, at first sight, in his appearance to engage the attention ; but when he rose up and began to speak, his superiority was apparent. He received us in very homely style, on the deck of his vessel, dressed in a large surtout coat, and a large fur cap, and seated at a table made of a few loose planks laid along the top of some empty casks. He is a tall, erect, well-proportioned, handsome man, with a large aquiline

nose, thick black hair, and immense bushy dark whiskers, extending from ear to ear under the chin ; his complexion is deep olive, and his eye, which is large, prominent, and piercing, is jet black ; his whole appearance being highly military. He is thoroughly well-bred, and unaffectedly simple in his manners ; exceedingly cordial and engaging, and possessed evidently of great kindness of disposition : in short, I have never seen any person, the enchantment of whose address was more irresistible. In conversation he went at once to the strong points of the topic, disdaining, as it were, to trifle with its minor parts ; he listened earnestly, and replied with distinctness and fairness, showing wonderful resources in argument, and a most happy fertility of illustration ; the effect of which was, to make his audience feel they were understood in the sense they wished. Yet there was nothing showy or ingenious in his discourse ; and he certainly seemed, at all times, perfectly in earnest, and deeply possessed with his subject. At times his animation rose to a high pitch ; when the flash of his eye, and the whole turn of his expression, became so exceedingly energetic as to rivet the attention of his audience be-

yond the possibility of evading his arguments. This was most remarkable when the topic was politics ; on which subject, I consider myself fortunate in having heard him express himself frequently. But his quiet manner was not less striking, and indicative of a mind of no ordinary stamp: he could even be playful and familiar, when such was the tone of the moment ; and whatever effect the subsequent possession of great political power may have had on his mind, I feel confident that his natural disposition is kind and benevolent.

During the first visit I paid to San Martin, several persons came privately from Lima to discuss the state of affairs, upon which occasion his views and feelings were distinctly stated ; and I saw nothing in his conduct afterwards to cast a doubt upon the sincerity with which he then spoke. The contest in Peru, he said, was not of an ordinary description—not a war of conquest and glory, but entirely of opinion ; it was a war of new and liberal principles against prejudice, bigotry, and tyranny.—“ People ask,” said San Martin, “ why I don’t march to Lima at once ; so I might, and instantly would, were it suitable to my views—which it is not. I do not want mili-

tary renown—I have no ambition to be the conqueror of Peru—I want solely to liberate the country from oppression. Of what use would Lima be to me, if the inhabitants were hostile in political sentiment? How could the cause of independence be advanced by my holding Lima, or even the whole country, in military possession?—Far different are my views. I wish to have all men thinking with me, and do not choose to advance a step beyond the gradual march of public opinion; the capital being now ripe for declaring its sentiments, I shall give them the opportunity of doing so in safety. It was in sure expectation of this moment that I have hitherto deferred advancing; and to those who know the full extent of the means which have been put in action, a sufficient explanation is afforded of all the delays that have taken place. I have been gaining, indeed, day by day, fresh allies in the hearts of the people. In the secondary point of military strength, I have been, from the same causes, equally successful in augmenting and improving the liberating army; while that of the Spaniards has been wasted by want and desertion. The country has now become sensible of its own inte-

rest, and it is right the inhabitants should have the means of expressing what they think. Public opinion is an engine newly introduced into this country ; the Spaniards, incapable of directing it, have prohibited its use ; but they shall now experience its strength and importance."

On another occasion I heard San Martin explain the peculiar necessity there was for acting in this cautious, and, as it were, tardy manner, in revolutionizing Peru. Its geographical situation had, in his opinion, great influence in continuing that state of ignorance so favourable to the mistaken policy of the Spaniards ; long after the other countries of South America had awakened from their apathy. Buenos Ayres, from its vicinity to the Cape of Good Hope, and the facility of intercourse between it and Europe, had many years before acquired the means of gaining information, which had not yet reached Peru. Chili originally derived her knowledge through Buenos Ayres, but more recently by direct communication from England and North America. Columbia, although the scene of terrible wars, had the advantage of being near the West Indies and North America ; and Mexico was also in constant

communication with those places, as well as Europe. Thus they had all more or less enjoyed opportunities of obtaining much useful knowledge, during times little favourable, it is true, to its culture, but which did not, indeed could not, prevent its influence from being salutary. In Peru, however, cut off unfortunately by nature from direct communication with the more enlightened countries of the earth, it was only very recently that the first rays of knowledge had pierced through the clouds of error and superstition ; and the people were still not only very ignorant of their own rights, but required time and encouragement to learn how to think justly on the subject. To have taken the capital, by a coup de main, therefore, would have answered no purpose, and would probably have irritated the people, and induced them to resist the arms of the Patriots, from a misconception of their real intentions.

The gradual progress of intelligence in the other states of South America, said San Martin, had insensibly prepared the people's minds for the revolution. In Chili and elsewhere, the mine had been silently charged, and the train required only to be touched ;—in Peru, where the mate-

rials were yet to be prepared, any premature attempt at explosion must have been unsuccessful. The privilege which our neutral character gave us of examining both sides of the question in person, was turned to great account at this period ; for immediately after conversing with San Martin, I landed and went to Lima, where I had an interview, within the same hour, with the Viceroy ; and returned in the evening to my ship, anchored not very far from Lord Cochrane's fleet.

On going to Lima next day, I found it in the most singular state of agitation. It was now generally known that the Royalists meant to abandon the city to its fate ; and it was clear, that whatever happened, a violent revulsion must take place ; but as no one knew, or could guess, what its extent might prove, every one deemed the crisis full of danger and difficulty. The timorous were distracted by the wildest fears ; the bold and steady knew not how to apply their courage ; and the irresolute were left in the most pitiable state ; but the strangers, unwilling to offend either side, did wisely by putting a good face on the matter and taking their chance. The female part of the community, though much

embarrassed, certainly behaved better than the men : they displayed more fortitude, were less timorous, less querulous under suffering, in general saw things in a brighter point of view, and did not distress themselves, or those about them, by needless complaints and anticipations of evil. On every successive day things became worse ; and towards the close of the week, the terrors of the people assuming the character of despair, it was utterly useless to reason with them, or to attempt impressing upon their minds the value of calmness and patience at such an alarming moment.

On the 5th of July the Viceroy issued a proclamation, announcing his intention of abandoning the city, and pointing to Callao as an asylum for those who felt themselves insecure in the capital. This was the signal for immediate flight : a rush was made towards the Castle by multitudes, who, when questioned as to their reasons for leaving the city, could give none but that of fear ; and, indeed, the majority acted from mere panic, which spread amongst them in the most extraordinary manner.

I had gone to the ship in the morning, but hearing that the capital was certainly to be de-

serted by the Royalists next day, and wishing to be near the British merchants, whom I had recommended, come what might, to stay by their property in Lima, I landed, and proceeded along the Callao road. It was with no small difficulty that I could make head against the crowd of fugitives coming in the opposite direction : groups of people on foot, in carts, on horseback, hurried past ; men, women, and children, with horses and mules, and numbers of slaves laden with baggage and other valuables, travelled indiscriminately along, and all was outcry and confusion.

In the city itself the consternation was excessive ; the men were pacing about in fearful doubt what was to be done ; the women were flying in all directions towards the convents ; and the narrow streets were literally choked up with loaded waggons and mules, and mounted horsemen. All night long the confusion continued ; and at day break the Viceroy marched out with his troops, not leaving even a single sentinel over the powder-magazine. Up to this moment many people, with a strange degree of incredulity, arising out of long cherished prejudice and pride, would not believe that such events were possible : when the

moment actually arrived, their despair became immeasurable, and they fled away like the rest. For an hour or two after the Viceroy's departure the streets were filled with fugitives; but by mid-day scarcely an individual was to be seen; and in the course of the afternoon I accompanied one of the English merchants, during a walk of more than a mile, through the most populous parts of Lima, without meeting a single individual: the doors were all barred, the window-shutters closed, and it really seemed "some vast city of the dead."

An indistinct dread of some terrible catastrophe was the principal cause of this universal panic: but there was a definite source of alarm besides, which contributed considerably to the extraordinary effect which I have been describing. This was a belief, industriously propagated, and caught up with all the diseased eagerness of fear, that the slave population of the city meant to take advantage of the absence of the troops, to rise in a body and massacre the whites. I could not, for one, bring myself to suppose this at all probable; for the slaves had never any leisure to plan such a scheme: their habits were not those

of union or enterprise, for they were all domestic servants, and thinly scattered over an immense city, with very rare opportunities of confidential intercourse. Had the panic, however, been less general, and not spread itself over all classes, from the highest to the lowest, there might have been some grounds to apprehend a riot, or other mischief, from the mob attacking the houses of obnoxious individuals ; but as all the inhabitants were equally under the influence of terror, there was no one left to take advantage of the moment.

The Viceroy, on leaving Lima, had nominated the Marquis of Montemira as governor of the city ; and the selection was a judicious one, for this old nobleman, independently of being a native of the place, was so universally esteemed, that his influence was likely to prove most beneficial to the city at this juncture. In the course of the day he sent for such of the principal inhabitants as had not fled to Callao, in order to consult with them on the measures to be taken for securing the peace of the town. As the British merchants had no trifling interest in this question, I considered it right to be present at this meeting, where I found a strange assembly of people.

Some came to learn the news, others to suggest plans ; and all to talk, smoke their segars, and finally do nothing. Many whose politics had obliged them to keep out of sight for a long time, now came forward from their places of concealment ; and many whose authority had a few days before carried all before it, now looked sadly crest-fallen. Some expressed the greatest alarm ; some sorrow ; others were exulting and congratulating one another on the consummation of their political hopes ; and some bustled about amongst the crowd, merely to say how very much they were in doubt what ought to be done. My old acquaintance, the ex-inquisitor, whom I had met in the same house in February last, was there amongst the rest, but was treated with a contempt that very clearly proved his occupation to be gone. On the other hand, I recognized a strange little man, folded up in an old dingy Spanish cloak, with a broad-brimmed yellow hat, hooked loosely on one corner of his small square head, and shadowing a face plastered all over with snuff, which, in the vehemence of his agitation, he flung at his nose in handfuls ; but through this forbidding exterior it was easy to

perceive, by the flash of his eye, and the sarcastic turn of his expression, a promise of intellect far beyond that of the people about him. He had been formerly pointed out to me in the streets as a furious republican, who had been with difficulty restrained by his friends from breaking out too soon : his active intrigues, it was also said, had essentially contributed to that revolution in public sentiment which had been gradually accomplished in Lima.

Among Spaniards no business is ever done on such occasions without much talk ; the tendency of which generally is to avoid meeting the question. Accordingly, the state of the times was canvassed and recanvassed, but the main point at issue, namely, what was to be done, was perversely kept on one side. By an unanimous vote, however, the late rulers of the city were stigmatized, in no very measured terms, as having proved themselves traitors to their country.

In the midst of this universal confusion and doubt, the minutest points of etiquette were not forgotten : the new Governor had to receive a visit of ceremony from the Cabildo, or town-council ;—

from the Consulado, or commercial board ;—and so on through all the public bodies, or, at least, from as many of the members as remained in the city. In these idle forms much time was lost ; and the day was wearing fast away, when the necessity of doing something, and that speedily, became too obvious to be longer neglected, even by men never known to act promptly in their lives. At the suggestion of the little republican, whose indignation at these absurd delays was roused to the highest pitch, a short letter was written to San Martin, inviting him to enter the city, to protect it from the imminent dangers by which it was threatened. It was not only of the slaves and of the mob that people were afraid ; but with more reason, of the multitude of armed Indians surrounding the city, who, although under the orders of San Martin's officers, were savage and undisciplined troops, and very likely to enter the place in a body as soon as the Spaniards had gone. These Indian auxiliaries were so near that we could see them distinctly from the streets, perched along the heights overhanging the town. The rest of the Patriot army, also in sight, from Lima,

formed a semicircle round the northern side of the city, ready to march in at a moment's warning.

The most profound stillness reigned over the capital during the night; and next morning the same party assembled at the Governor's as on the preceding day, in order to receive San Martin's answer. It was brief, but admirably in point, stating merely the terms upon which he was willing to enter the city with his army, should it be the real wish of the inhabitants to declare their independence. He had no desire, he told them, to enter the capital as a conqueror, and would not come unless expressly invited by the people themselves. In the meanwhile, however, to prevent any disturbance in the city, and to give the inhabitants leisure to consider in security the terms he now put to them, he added, that orders had been sent to the troops surrounding Lima to obey implicitly the directions of the Governor, who might dispose of all or any part of the forces as he pleased, without reference to himself.

This conduct, it may be said, was evidently the most judicious, on every account, that could have

been adopted: but it is so seldom that men in real life recollect, on such tempting occasions, those maxims at other times so obvious, which stand between them and a display of their power; that the Limenians were quite taken by surprise; and could scarcely believe it possible, that they should be so treated by a man whom they had been taught to consider as an enemy. His answer, therefore, was considered as somewhat chivalrous; and certainly it was very considerate of the feelings of the citizens. After discussing it for some time, however, a doubt was started as to its sincerity; and one of the company went so far as to suggest that the whole was a mockery of their distress, and that, in a few hours, San Martin would be entering the city at the head of his troops to pillage and lay it waste. Upon this motion being suggested, the little old gentleman who had been so active during the consultations of yesterday, proposed that the matter should be put to the proof by the Governor sending an order to some of the troops investing the town; and the result would at once show on what ground they stood. Accordingly, an order was written by the

Governor to the commanding-officer of a regiment of cavalry, stationed within a mile of the gates, desiring him instantly to remove one league further from the city. Considerable anxiety prevailed during the absence of the messenger, and great surprise and satisfaction when he returned to say, that the officer, immediately on receiving the order, broke up his quarters, and never halted till the regiment had reached the required distance. The news of this delegated power being in the hands of the Governor, and the ready obedience of the troops, flew rapidly through Lima, and put an end to every idea of insurrection among the slaves, or of riotous behaviour on the part of the mob. It instantly restored confidence to every one, and put the whole society into good humour with San Martin. For although it was obvious that the Governor could not turn the power thus placed in his hands to any improper use, yet every one felt there was something noble and generous in this show of confidence in people so recently his foes, and so completely at his mercy. His subsequent forbearance in not marching the army into the city was a measure no less courteous and judicious :

it not only spared the inhabitants the humiliation of a triumph, but kept his own troops out of the reach of temptation at a moment the most dangerous of all perhaps to good discipline. It was not, indeed, until the city had been completely tranquillized, a vigorous police established, and many small parties of chosen soldiers introduced under the command of careful officers, that the body of the troops were permitted to come near, or even to hold any communication with the city.

In a day or two every thing was restored to its ordinary state ; the shops were again opened ; the women were seen in every quarter stealing out of the convents ; the men ventured forth to smoke their segars in the Plaza ; the streets were lined with people returning to their homes, and with loaded mules bringing back trunks, boxes, and household articles of all kinds ; the mass-bells were again tinkling ; the street-cryers bawling as heretofore ; and the great city once more restored to its wonted noise and bustle.

During nearly two days the apparent desertion was more complete than I could have supposed possible in so large and populous a place ; and as

the majority of the inhabitants, notwithstanding the flight to Callao, were certainly still in the city, it was inconceivable how so many people could have remained locked up for such a period, without being once tempted to peep out ; especially when the danger was by no means pressing or certain. We fancied that the slaves were more cheerful than usual ; but this probably was a deception, arising from our contrasting their undisturbed gaiety with the doubt and gloom which had beset every other mind. It may be mentioned here, that one of San Martin's first proclamations declared the freedom of every person born after the 15th of July 1821, the day on which the independence of Lima was first announced ; and that every slave voluntarily enlisting into his army should become from that instant a free citizen : measures which at once gave a death-blow to the whole system of slavery.

When all was quiet in the capital, I went to Callao, and hearing that San Martin was in the roads, waited on him on board his yacht. I found him possessed of correct information as to all that was passing ; but he seemed in no hurry to enter

the city, and appeared, above all things, anxious to avoid any appearance of acting the part of a conqueror. "For the last ten years," said he, "I have been unremittingly employed against the Spaniards ; or rather, in favour of this country, for I am not against any one who is not hostile to the cause of independence. All I wish is, that this country should be managed by itself, and by itself alone. As to the manner in which it is to be governed, that belongs not at all to me. I propose simply to give the people the means of declaring themselves independent, and of establishing a suitable form of government ; after which I shall consider I have done enough, and leave them."

On the next day, the 8th of July, a deputation of the principal persons from Lima was sent to invite San Martin formally to enter the capital, as the inhabitants had agreed, after the most mature deliberation, to the terms proposed. To this requisition he assented, but delayed his entry till the 12th, some days after.

It is proverbially difficult to discover the real temper and character of great men : and I was therefore on the watch for such little traits in San

Martin as might throw a light on his natural disposition ; and I must say, that the result was most favourable. I took notice, in particular, of the kindly and cordial terms upon which he lived with the officers of his family, and all those with whom his occupations obliged him to associate. One day, at his own table, after dinner, I saw him take out his cigarrera, or pouch, and while his thoughts were evidently far away, choose a segar more round and firm than the rest, and give it an unconscious look of satisfaction ;—when a voice from the bottom of the table called out, “ Mi General !” He started from his reverie, and holding up his head, asked who had spoken. “ It was I,” said an officer of his establishment who had been watching him ; “ I merely wished to beg the favour of one segar of you.”—“ Ah ha !” said he, smiling good-naturedly, and at once tossed his chosen segar with an assumed look of reproach to the officer. To everybody he was affable and courteous, without the least show or bustle, and I could never detect in him the slightest trace of affectation, or anything, in short, but the real sentiment of the moment. I had occa-

sion to visit him early one morning on board his schooner, and we had not been long walking together, when the sailors began washing the decks. "What a plague it is," said San Martin, "that these fellows will insist upon washing their decks at this rate!"—"I wish, my friend," said he to one of the men, "you would not wet us here, but go to the other side." The seaman, however, who had his duty to do, and was too well accustomed to the General's gentle manner, went on with his work, and splashed us soundly. "I am afraid," cried San Martin, "we must go below, although our cabin is but a miserable hole, for really there is no persuading these fellows to go out of their usual way." These anecdotes, and many others of the same stamp, are very trifling, it is true; but I am much mistaken if they do not give more insight into the real disposition, than a long series of official acts: for public virtue is unfortunately held to be so rare, that we are apt to mistrust a man in power for the same actions which, in a humble station, would have secured our confidence and esteem.

On our way back to Lima we were threatened

with an attack from a body of a dozen robbers ; men let loose upon society by the events of the day. Our party consisted of four gentlemen, each armed with a pistol. As we rode up the great approach of the city, we saw the robbers pull three people off their horses, and strip them of their cloaks, after which they formed a compact line across the road, brandishing their cudgels in defiance. We cantered on, however, right against them, with our pistols cocked and held in the air. The effect was what we expected : an opening was made for us, and the robbers, seeing their purpose frustrated, turned about, and became suddenly wonderfully good patriots, calling out, “ Viva la Patria ! Viva San Martin ! ”

On the 10th of July, I dined with a small party at the Marquis of Montemira's. Whilst we were at dinner a soldier entered with a letter, which he delivered to the old Governor. He was a short, round-faced, daring-looking fellow, dressed in a shaggy blue jacket, and trowsers of immense width ; with a blue cloth cap on his head, encircled by a broad silver band. By his side was hung a huge broadsword. His manners were somewhat

free, but not vulgar or offensive ; and there played about his eyes and his mouth an expression of coarse broad humour, which a glass or two of wine, and a little encouragement, might, not improbably, have ripened into impertinence. The old Marquis, whose heart was open with excess of glee at the events of the day, was delighted with his new guest ; and rising from the table, embraced the astonished soldier, who was standing most respectfully behind his chair. I was seated near a friend, who, though by birth a Spaniard, was a thorough Patriot at heart, and from being long resident in Lima, had become acquainted with every distinguished or notorious individual it contained. I observed him fall back in his chair, and in vain try to suppress a laugh on seeing the Marquis embrace the bearer of the despatch. He told me that our new friend was no other than one of the most noted robbers in the country ; who, not many months since, had been condemned to be hanged, but had escaped with a sound whipping through the streets of Lima. San Martin had heard of him as a man of talents and enterprise, and had given him the command of a band of

Partidos, or Guerrillas, composed chiefly of Indians.

I was much amused with this account of our new companion, who had, by this time, been urged by our host to take his seat at the table, where he made himself quite at home in a very short time. This was just the sort of man to flourish in a revolution: we found him a very shrewd person, and well adapted to his situation in the event of any desperate service being required. He was asked if he had come alone, or whether he had thought of bringing some of his people with him to assist in guarding the city at this critical moment. "Don't mention such a thing," cried he; "they are the greatest set of villains in Peru, and would cut the throats of half Lima before morning if they were trusted within the walls."

The streets were this evening scoured in every direction by mounted patrols, consisting of ten or a dozen gentlemen each, who allowed no one, without special permission, to remain out of doors after eight o'clock. These precautions were taken by the inhabitants, in consequence of the tumultuous assemblages of people in the streets the

night before, shouting “Viva la Patria! Viva la Independencia!” and making a furious riot, which was greatly assisted by the incessant ringing of all the church bells. Several shops were broken open, and one or two people were shot. Some judicious persons at last obtained an order that the bells should cease ringing; after which the mob soon retired to rest. In the midst of the confusion a violent shock of an earthquake was felt, but I missed this by having gone on board my ship in the evening.

11th of July.—The patroles did their duty so effectually last night, that, after it was dark, there was hardly a soul in the streets, and not a door was open, except here and there, where a single drinking-house was allowed by the patrole; the solitary mirth from which proved the real repose of the city more than if every house had been rigorously blocked up. I walked, in company with a gentleman, over great part of the town, without meeting any one except the patrole. As we were returning through the Plaza, or great square, the deep silence was suddenly broken by the clank of a hand-bell rung in front of the cathedral. Present-

ly there issued from the palace, which occupies another side of the square, a great lumbering old-fashioned gilt coach ; which drove to the entrance of the cathedral, and having received the priest charged with the Host, or consecrated wafer, moved slowly away to the house of some dying person. The Host is usually carried in procession on foot ; but a carriage has been appropriated to this duty in Lima, in consequence of a curious circumstance, the details of which were related to me by a person who delighted in any thing tending to make the past times look ridiculous.

It seems that a certain Viceroy, some years ago, had become deeply enamoured of a celebrated actress, named La Pericholé ; and as vice-monarchs, like real monarchs, seldom sigh in vain, La Señora Pericholé soon became mistress of the palace, where, besides spending large sums of the public money, she succeeded in making her vice-regal admirer even more contemptible than he had been before. Every request she chose to make was immediately granted to her, except in one trifling case : she therefore, of course, resolutely set her heart upon attaining this object. Her whim was

not of any great consequence, it might be thought, since it was merely to be allowed, for once, to drive in a carriage of her own through the streets of Lima. Now this, which to us seems the simplest thing in nature, is looked upon in quite a different light in the capital of Peru; for although any one might ride about as long as he pleased in a gig, or a calesh, or in a balancin, no one ever presumed to dream of entering a coach but a grandee of the highest class. The Viceroy tried every argument to free La Pericholé's head of this most unreasonable fancy, but all in vain: at length he was obliged to set public opinion at defiance, and, at the risk of a rebellion, to order a coach to be made for the lady, whose folly was destined to render them both ridiculous. How to traverse the streets without being mobbed, was now the grand difficulty; for the Viceroy was pretty sure that he should never behold the fair Pericholé again if she went alone: to go in the same carriage, however, was too scandalous an abomination to be thought of,—besides, it was not what the lady wanted, who must needs go in her own carriage. In the end it was arranged that the Viceroy should lead in his coach

of state, and that La Pericholé should follow, while the usual train of carriages brought up the rear, with the body-guard surrounding all. It is even said the Viceroy had a window cut in the back part of his carriage, for the express purpose of keeping an eye on his lady : be that as it may, it so happened that the mob were amused with the ridiculous nature of the procession, and followed with huzzas the delighted Pericholé, while she crossed and recrossed the city. On returning towards the palace, she drew up before the cathedral, and stepping out, declared that, her ambition once satisfied, she had no further occasion for the coach, and would therefore, in gratitude to Heaven, devote it to the service of the church ; and desired that henceforward it might always carry the Host, whenever the sacrament of extreme unction was to be administered.

12th of July 1821.—This day is memorable in the annals of Peru, from the entry of General San Martin into the capital. Whatever intermediate changes may take place in the fortunes of that country, its freedom must eventually be established : and it can never be forgotten, that the first impulse was due entirely to the genius of San

Martin, who planned and executed the enterprise, which first stimulated the Peruvians to think and act for themselves. Instead of coming in state, as he was well entitled to have done, he waited till the evening, and then rode in without guards, and accompanied by a single aid-de-camp. Indeed, it was contrary to his original intention that he came into the city on this day ; for he was tired, and wished to go quietly to rest in a cottage about half a league off, and to enter the town before daybreak next morning. He had dismounted accordingly, and had just nestled himself into a corner, blessing his stars that he was out of the reach of business ; when in came two friars, who, by some means or other, had discovered his retreat. Each of them made him a speech, to which his habitual good nature induced him to listen. One compared him to Cæsar, the other to Lucullus. “ Good Heavens ! ” exclaimed the General, when the fathers left the apartment, “ what are we to do ? this will never answer. ” — “ Oh ! Sir,” answered the aid-de-camp, “ there are two more of the same stamp close at hand. ” — “ Indeed ! then saddle the horses again, and let us be off. ”

Instead of going straight to the palace, San

Martin called at the Marquis of Montemira's on his way, and the circumstance of his arrival becoming known in a moment, the house, the court, and the street, were soon filled. I happened to be at a house in the neighbourhood, and reached the audience-room before the crowd became impassable. I was desirous of seeing how the General would behave through a scene of no ordinary difficulty; and he certainly acquitted himself very well. There was, it may be supposed, a large allowance of enthusiasm, and high-wrought expression, upon the occasion; and to a man innately modest, and naturally averse to show, or ostentation of any kind, it was not an easy matter to receive such praises without betraying impatience.

At the time I entered the room, a middle-aged fine-looking woman was presenting herself to the General: as he leaned forward to embrace her, she fell at his feet, clasped his knees, and looking up, exclaimed, that she had three sons at his service, who, she hoped, would now become useful members of society, instead of being slaves as heretofore. San Martin, with much discretion, did not attempt to raise the lady from the ground, but al-

lowed her to make her appeal in the situation she had chosen, and which, of course, she considered the best suited to give force to her eloquence: he stooped low to hear all she said, and when her first burst was over, gently raised her; upon which she threw her arms round his neck, and concluded her speech while hanging on his breast. His reply was made with suitable earnestness, and the poor woman's heart seemed ready to burst with gratitude for his attention and affability.

He was next assailed by five ladies, all of whom wished to clasp his knees at once; but as this could not be managed, two of them fastened themselves round his neck, and all five clamoured so loudly to gain his attention, and weighed so heavily upon him, that he had some difficulty in supporting himself. He soon satisfied each of them with a kind word or two, and then seeing a little girl of ten or twelve years of age belonging to this party, but who had been afraid to come forward before, he lifted up the astonished child, and kissing her cheek, set her down again in such ecstasy, that the poor thing scarcely knew where she was.

His manner was quite different to the next person who came forward : a tall, raw-boned, pale-faced friar : a young man, with deep-set dark-blue eyes, and a cloud of care and disappointment wandering across his features. San Martin assumed a look of serious earnestness while he listened to the speech of the monk ; who applauded him for the peaceful and Christian-like manner of his entrance into this great city—conduct which, he trusted, was only a forerunner of the gentle character of his future government. The General's answer was in a similar strain, only pitched a few notes higher ; and it was curious to observe how the formal cold manner of the priest became animated, under the influence of San Martin's eloquence : at last, losing all recollection of his sedate character, the young man clapped his hands and shouted, “ Viva ! viva ! nuestro General ! ”—“ Nay, nay,” said the other, “ do not say so ; but join with me in calling, Viva la Independencia del Peru ! ”

The Cabildo, or town-council, hastily drawn together, next entered, and as many of them were natives of the place, and liberal men, they had

enough to do to conceal their emotion, and to maintain the proper degree of stateliness belonging to so grave a body, when they came, for the first time, into the presence of their liberator.

Old men, and old women, and young women, crowded fast upon him : to every one he had something kind and appropriate to say ; always going beyond the expectation of each person he addressed. During this scene I was near enough to watch him closely ; but I could not detect, either in his manner or in his expressions, the least affectation ; there was nothing assumed, or got up ; nothing which seemed to refer to self ; I could not even discover the least trace of a self-approving smile. But his manner, at the same time, was the reverse of cold ; for he was sufficiently animated, although his satisfaction seemed to be caused solely by the pleasure reflected from others. While I was thus watching him, he happened to recognize me, and drawing me to him, embraced me in the Spanish fashion. I made way for a beautiful young woman, who, by great efforts, had got through the crowd. She threw herself into the General's arms, and lay there full half a minute,

without being able to utter more than "Oh mi General ! mi General !" She then tried to disengage herself, but San Martin, who had been struck with her enthusiasm and beauty, drew her gently and respectfully back, and holding his head a little on one side, said with a smile, that he must be permitted to show his grateful sense of such good will, by one affectionate salute. This completely bewildered the blushing beauty, who, turning round, sought support in the arms of an officer standing near the General, who asked her if she were now content : "Contenta !" she cried, "O Señor !"

It is perhaps worthy of remark, that, during all this time, there were no tears shed, and that, even in the most theatrical parts, there was nothing carried so far as to look ridiculous.

It is clear that the General would gladly have missed such a scene altogether ; and, had his own plan succeeded, he would have avoided it ; for he intended to have entered the city at four or five in the morning. His dislike of pomp and show was evinced in a similar manner when he returned to Buenos Ayres, after having conquered Chili from

the Spaniards, in 1817. He there managed matters with more success than at Lima; for, although the inhabitants were prepared to give him a public reception, he contrived to enter that capital without being discovered.

13th.—Next morning I rode with two gentlemen to San Martin's head-quarters, a little beyond the city walls, on the Callao road. He had come to this place, on the evening before, from the Marquis of Montemira's, instead of going to the palace, where he dreaded a repetition of the same bustle. He was completely surrounded by business, but attended to it all himself: It was curious to observe every one coming out of his presence pleased with the reception he had met with, whether he had succeeded or not.

We no sooner entered than he recognized one of my companions, who was an excellent draughtsman, and whom he had seen on board the schooner a fortnight before. He had heard how much the jealousy of the Spaniards had interfered with my friend's amusements, and told him he might now sketch away as much as he pleased, and might

have an escort, if he had any wish to extend his researches into the country.

An old man came in at this moment with a little girl in his arms, his only object being that the General should kiss the child, which he good-naturedly did, and the poor father marched off perfectly happy. The next person who entered delivered a letter to the General in a manner somewhat mysterious, and we found, on inquiry, that he was a spy who had been sent to the enemy's camp. A deputation from the city followed, to speak about removing the situation of a military hospital from the village of Bellavista, which was within range of cannon-shot from the Castle of Callao. In this way he passed on from one thing to another with wonderful rapidity ; but not without method, and all with great patience and courtesy to every one. This might be useful at first, but if a Commander-in-chief were to undertake to manage perfectly so many details in person, he would waste his time to very little purpose ; so, perhaps, the General thought, for, in the course of the day, he shifted his head-quarters to the palace, and in the evening held his first levee in this

ancient abode of the Spanish Viceroys. It was not crowded, being intended for the heads of departments only.

The great audience-gallery is lighted by windows opening into a long passage, or verandah, overlooking the garden, in the centre of the quadrangle of the palace. During the levee, these windows were filled with anxious crowds of women straining their eyes to catch a glimpse of San Martin. On passing one of these groups, they petitioned me to bring the General, if possible, towards their window. Accordingly, having consulted with one of the aids-de-camp, we contrived between us to get him into conversation about some despatches I was sending off; and to draw him, in the meantime, towards our fair friends at the window. When we had nearly reached the spot, he was about to turn round, which obliged us to tell him our plan; he laughed, and immediately went up to the ladies, and having chatted with them for some minutes, left them enchanted with his affability.

Having at this time no business of any consequence to transact in Lima, I went on board, and

removed the Conway from Callao Roads to the harbour of Ancon, lying about twenty miles to the northward of Lima ; in order to be near the English merchant-ships, all of which had recently gone to that port. The Spaniards, on abandoning Lima, retained possession of Callao, which, being impregnable, was for the present merely blockaded by sea and land, and all its supplies being cut off, there was an expectation that the garrison would eventually be starved into submission. While things were in this situation, no intercourse could be allowed with Callao, and the merchant-vessels went to Ancon to land their cargoes. I anchored there also on the 17th of July, and, having remained two days, was obliged to return by land to Lima, to arrange some business relating to the detention of two English ships by the Chilian squadron.

I rode to the capital in company with several gentlemen, and do not remember to have made a more fatiguing journey, although the distance was little more than eight leagues. At first, the whole country was a sandy desert, like that described at Arica ; and as nothing can be conceived more irk-

some than travelling over such ground, the relief was very great when we reached the hard road, after riding eight or ten miles through deep sand. As we approached the great valley of Lima, the country gradually improved: at first we could discover at long intervals a few blades of grass; then a little tuft here and there; then a shrub; next a tree; and by and by a hedge of aloes; but the most pleasing object of all was a sparkling stream, winding along the plain, and accompanied in its course by a slender belt of bright green. When we had fairly entered the valley of Lima, the whole scene was changed: fields of sugar-cane, maize, rice, and various grains, appeared on every side; and we rode through lanes of thickset trees, over substantial roads, that eventually led us to the sharp crest of a range of hills deeply indented by the road. From this gorge we had a view of the immense valley, with the river Rimac, which divides Lima into two parts, running through it, and lending its waters to fertilize the surrounding plain.

About a league and a half from the city, we passed one of the Patriot outposts, consisting of Montoneros, or irregulars, guarding a depôt of

horses and mules.* They were wild, bold-looking men, rather short, but well set and athletic : and were scattered about in groups on the grass in the fields, along with the horses. The sentinels, who paced the walls by the road-side, formed on the sky-line the most picturesque figures imaginable. One of them, in particular, caught our notice : on his head he wore a high conical cap, made out of a whole sheep's skin ; and over his shoulders a large white cloak of blanket stuff reaching to his knees, and hanging loosely over his arms ; his long sword, pulled somewhat in front, dangled about his ankles, round which he had laced pieces of raw horse-hide instead of boots : in this garb he strode along the parapet, with his musket over his arm, the very beau-ideal of a Guerrilla. On hearing the tramp of our horses' feet, he turned round, and perceiving we were officers, saluted us

* This word, in the previous editions, was written Montanero. But I have since learned, that it is a provincial word adopted from the Spanish, Monton, which signifies a heap or pile : thus, monton de gente, a crowd, or multitude of people. It is used, in Chili and in Buenos Ayres, to designate men who make war in an irregular manner, with little or no discipline.

with all the respectfulness of a disciplined soldier, and at the same time with the air of a free-born son of the hills. As for the rest, they were like so many Scythians, and they stared at us with an interest at least equal to that which they inspired.

Nothing else of particular interest occurred in our journey, except that, when we reached the outskirts of Lima, we observed a dead body placed by the road-side, with a small cross laid on the breast. Upon inquiry, we were told that this was the corpse of some unknown person, exposed until money enough should be received from charitable passengers to pay for its interment.

On reaching the city, we found that the ebullition caused by the recent events had by no means subsided. Doubts and difficulties presented themselves in fearful array before the eyes of the inhabitants. The Spaniards, who formed the wealthy class, were sadly perplexed : if they declined entering into San Martin's views, their property and their persons were liable to confiscation ; if they acceded to his terms, they became committed to their own government, which, it was still possible, might return to visit them with equal

vengeance. The natives, on the other hand, who had better reason to be confident, were even more alarmed at the consequences of their present acts. Many doubted San Martin's sincerity ; many his power to fulfil his engagements. To most of the inhabitants of Lima such subjects were quite new, and it was, therefore, to be expected that alarm and indecision should fill every breast.

In the midst of this general doubt and difficulty, perhaps the least at ease was the great mover of the whole, to whom every one, of whatever party, looked up for protection—the confident and the doubting—the Patriot as well as the Spaniard ; and it required a skilful hand indeed to steer the vessel of the state at such a moment.

The difficulties of San Martin's situation, and, in general, the nature of the duties which now devolved upon him, are so clearly pointed out in an address to the Peruvians, which he published about this time, that an extract will be read with interest ; especially as it is free from what has been well called revolutionary jargon ; in the use of which the Spaniards, and their South American descendants, are great adepts.

“ The work of difficulty, and that which must be courageously, firmly, and circumspectly undertaken, is to correct the vague ideas which the former government has left impressed on the minds of the present generation. It is not to be supposed, however, that this difficulty consists so much in the want of acquaintance with the adequate means by which the end is to be accomplished; as in the dangerous precipitancy with which new governments reform the abuses they find established. Beginning with liberty, the most ardent of our wishes, that must be bestowed with caution, (*sobriedad*,) in order that the sacrifices which are made for the purpose of gaining it be not rendered useless. Every civilized people is in a state to be free; but the degree of freedom, which a country can enjoy, ought to bear an exact proportion to the measure of its civilization: if the first exceed the last, no power can save them from anarchy; and if the reverse happen, namely, that the degree of civilization goes beyond the amount of freedom which the people possess, oppression is the consequence. If all Europe were suddenly to be put in possession of the liberty of England, the greater part of it would

present a complete chaos of anarchy ; and if, instead of their present constitution, the English were to be subjected to the charter of Louis XVIII., they would consider themselves enslaved. It is right that the governments of South America be free ; but it is necessary they should be so in the proportion stated : the greatest triumph of our enemies would be to see us depart from that measure.

“ In every branch of the public welfare, even in that of domestic economy, great reforms are necessary. It may be said generally, without risk of error, although the expression may look like prejudice, that it is essential to strip our institutions and customs of all that is Spanish ; and, according to the expression of the great Lord Chatham, on another occasion, ‘ to infuse such a portion of new health into the constitution, as may enable it to bear its infirmities.’ To make these reforms abruptly, and without discreet reflection, would be also a Spanish error ; and one into which the Cortes have at this moment (1821) fallen, by too precipitately changing the religious and political state of the Peninsula. We, on the other

hand, ought to avoid running into such mistakes, and to introduce, gradually, such improvements as the country is prepared to receive, and for which its people are so well adapted by their docility, and the tendency to improvement, which mark their social character.”*

As a measure of primary importance, San Martin sought to implant the feeling of independence, by some act that should bind the inhabitants of the capital to that cause. On the 28th of July, therefore, the ceremonies of proclaiming and swearing to the Independence of Peru took place. The troops were drawn up in the great square, in the centre of which was erected a lofty stage, from whence San Martin, accompanied by the Governor of the town, and some of the principal inhabitants, displayed, for the first time, the Independent flag of Peru, calling out, at the same time, in a loud voice,—“ From this moment Peru

* The peculiarity of these doctrines, under all the circumstances of the country and the times, is so striking, that this extract in the original Spanish is added in a note at the end of the volume.

is free and independent, by the general wish of the people, and by the justice of her cause, which God defend !” Then waving the flag, he exclaimed, “ Viva la Patria ! Viva la Libertad ! Viva la Independencia !” which words were caught up and repeated by the multitude in the square, and the adjoining streets ; while all the bells in the city rung a peal, and cannon were discharged amidst shouts such as had never been heard in Lima before.

The new Peruvian flag represents the rising sun appearing over the Andes, seen behind the city, with the river Rimac bathing their base. This device on a shield, surrounded with laurel, occupies the centre of the flag, which is divided diagonally into four triangular pieces, two red and two white.

From the stage on which San Martin stood, and from the balconies of the palace, silver medals were scattered amongst the crowd, bearing appropriate mottos.

On one side of these medals was, “ Lima libre juró su Independencia, en 28 de Julio de 1821 ;” and on the reverse, “ Baxo la proteccion del ex-

ercito Libertador del Perú mandado por San Martin." Which may be translated thus : " Lima being liberated, swore its Independence on the 28th of July of 1821 ; under the protection of the Liberating Army of Peru, commanded by San Martin."

The same ceremonies were observed at the principal stations of the city, or, as they were termed in an official proclamation, " In all those public places where, in former times, it was announced to the people that they were still to wear their miserable and heavy chains."

The ceremony was rather imposing. San Martin's manner was graceful and easy throughout, unaccompanied by anything theatrical or affected ; but it was a business of show and effect, and quite repugnant to his taste. I sometimes thought, there might be detected in his face a momentary expression of impatience or contempt of himself for engaging in such mummary ; but, if it really were so, he speedily resumed his wonted look of attention, and of good-will to all around him.

After making the circuit of Lima, the General and the persons who accompanied him returned

to the palace to receive Lord Cochrane, who had just arrived from Callao.

Next day, Sunday, 29th of July, Te Deum was sung, and High Mass performed in the Cathedral by the Archbishop, followed by an appropriate sermon preached by a Franciscan Friar.

As soon as the church service was over, the heads of the various departments assembled at the palace, and swore "to God and the country, to maintain, and defend, with their opinion, person, and property, the independence of Peru from the government of Spain, and from any other foreign domination." This oath was taken and signed by every respectable inhabitant of Lima, so that, in a few days, the signatures to the declaration of Peruvian independence amounted to nearly four thousand. This was published in an extraordinary Gazette, and diligently circulated over the country, which not only gave useful publicity to the state of the capital, but deeply committed many men, who would have been well pleased to have concealed their acquiescence in the measure.

In the evening, San Martín gave a ball at the palace, in the gaiety of which he joined heartily

himself; took part in the dances, and conversed with every individual in the room with so much ease and cheerfulness, that, of all the company, he seemed to be the person least burdened with cares or duties.

A strange custom prevails everywhere in this country at balls, public as well as private. Ladies of all ranks, who happen not to be invited, come in disguise, and stand at the windows, or in the passages, and often actually enter the ball-room. They are called Tapadas, from their faces being covered, and their object is, to observe the proceedings of their unconscious friends, whom they torment by malicious speeches, whenever they are within hearing. At the palace, on Sunday evening, the Tapadas were somewhat less forward than usual; but at the Cabildo, or magistrates' ball, given previously, the lower part of the room was filled with them, and they kept up a constant fire of jests at the gentlemen near the bottom of the dance.

31st of July.—I was under the necessity of leaving Lima at this interesting moment, for the purpose of going to Huacho, a small port to the

northward, to complete the stock of water in the Conwny, preparatory to proceeding to Valparaiso ; for during the siege, the watering-place at Callao was inaccessible, and not a drop was to be found, without going nearly sixty miles along shore for it.

2d of August.—As the wind on this coast blows always from the south, it is easy to make a passage to the northward, and we reached Huacho in a few hours. While the ship was taking in water and fresh provisions, of which, owing to the war, we had not been able to get any supply at Lima, I rode, with one of my officers, to Huaura, a town on the banks of the river of the same name. This spot was interesting, from having been the head-quarters of San Martin's army for nearly six months. Our road lay through a highly cultivated country ; a new and grateful sight to us, heartily tired as we were of comfortless deserts and barren cliffs. The pleasing distinction enjoyed by this district is attributable to irrigation from the river Huaura, the waters of which are distributed over a considerable extent of country. The unvarying heat of the climate, and the abundant supply of

water, produce here a surprising luxuriance of vegetation. We were shaded, during our ride, by arches of foliage formed of the branches of trees meeting over the road ; while the underwood was so thickly matted together, that sometimes we could not distinguish the houses, till within a few yards of them.

These dwellings bore a rude resemblance in design to a Grecian temple ; they were oblong, nearly flat-roofed, and ornamented with a row of columns along the front. The walls, which were about twelve feet high, were composed of strong canes placed upright, and wattled across with reeds. The columns were generally made of posts, encased by small rods placed close together, so as to resemble the Gothic clustered column : others were left hollow, being formed of rods alone. Most of the pillars swelled out at the bottom like a tree : nature, in this instance, as in many others of architectural design, having probably suggested the original idea. Each wall was surmounted by a sort of entablature, consisting of a rude wooden frieze, and a cornice carved with the knife. Ornamental tracery in wicker-

work, and of a Gothic form, ran along the tops of the houses, and over most of the gates.

This taste for architectural ornament in wicker is found in other uncivilized countries at a distance from, and holding no communication with, one another. In Java, in Manilla, and in Ceylon, and probably at other places in the Eastern seas, the natives are in the practice of erecting temporary triumphal arches ; which exhibit a great variety of very elegant forms, of a purely Gothic character. In Ceylon, large buildings, entirely of canes and basket-work, are sometimes erected, of a highly ornamental description. The bamboo and rattan are generally used ; but the willow, or any pliable material possessing elasticity, seems to afford, in the hands of these ingenious people, an endless profusion of beautiful forms. In Java, where there are a great number of such arches, it is rare to observe exactly the same tracery repeated, although a striking consistency of character pervades the whole.

It is interesting to trace, in such remote regions, the same analogies which, in Europe, have been conceived to afford some explanation of the

origin, and consistency of principle of the two finest styles of architecture, the Grecian and the Gothic. The theory of Vitruvius receives all the confirmation it could desire from these humble structures at Huaura ; while that of Sir James Hall, in the case of Gothic architecture, derives no less support from the wicker forms above mentioned. And these instances, as far as they go, seem to possess a peculiar value from being found amongst rude nations, separated far from one another, and holding little or no intercourse with those countries in which architecture has made the greatest progress : they help to support the idea, that there may be an intrinsic or natural beauty in certain classes of forms, which afterwards, in the hands of persons of higher powers of execution, and more cultivated taste, may not only have afforded a ground-work, but have given consistency to future architectural systems.

On returning from Huaura, we lost our way by making a wrong turn up one of the innumerable lanes which intersect the country in every direction. By following one of these, we were eventually brought to the very edge of the desert, and

found ourselves once more in a sea of sand. On another occasion, we came to a road filled two feet deep with running water, and upon afterwards observing the others more attentively, we discovered that our supposed roads or lanes were only so many water-courses, and as each field required one, the cause of their numbers was explained. The hedges appear to be planted merely to give stability to the embankments; although their shade must also have the beneficial effect of preventing evaporation. Wherever a river, or even the smallest stream occurs, the inhabitants gladly profit by it; and nothing can exceed the fertility of the soil which this irrigation produces: but it is the misfortune of the western side of America to have very few rivers at that part of the coast which is never visited by rain.

At Huacho, we found the Governor at dinner with two or three friends. He was of the aboriginal race of the country, spoke a little Spanish, and was probably a discreet and clever fellow; otherwise he would not have been left in a command by San Martin. The dinner was placed on a low table in the middle of the floor, and the

whole party forked their meat out of one dish. It was interesting, on looking round the shop, to observe the effect of the recent political changes. A roll of English broad-cloth was resting on a French wine case, marked MEDOC ; on the table stood a bottle of champagne ; the knives and forks were marked Sheffield, and the skreen which divided the apartment was made of a piece of Glasgow printed cotton.

We sailed for Lima again on the 4th of August, but it was not till late at night of the 7th that we reached Chorillos, an open roadstead in front of a small town about ten miles to the southward of Lima. This spot, in times of peace a favourite bathing-place for the gay world of the capital, was now a military outpost. Sentinels paced along the heights ; parties of soldiers occupied the beach ; all the neat villas and ornamental cottages were turned into guard-houses and stables ; so that the beauty and comfort of the spot were utterly destroyed. As no one was allowed to proceed without a passport, I was forced to wait till a messenger went to Lima, and returned, and thus lost the whole of the 8th.

9th of Aug.—On reaching the city, we learned that General San Martin had taken upon himself the title of Protector, thus uniting in his own person both the civil and military authority of the liberated provinces.

The proclamation which he issued on this occasion is curious; it has but little of the wonted bombast of such documents, and though not sparing of self-praise, is manly and decided; and, as I fully believe, from a number of collateral circumstances, perfectly sincere.

DECREE.

“ By Don José de San Martin, Captain-General, and Commander-in-Chief of the Liberating Army of Peru, Grand Cross of the Legion of Merit of Chili, Protector of Peru.

“ When I took upon me the important enterprise of liberating this country, I had no other motive than a desire to advance the sacred cause of America, and to promote the happiness of the Peruvian people. A very considerable part of these objects has already been attained; but the work would remain incomplete, and my wishes imper-

fectly accomplished, were I not to establish permanently both the security and the prosperity of the inhabitants of this region.

“ From the moment of my landing at Pisco, I announced that the imperious necessity of circumstances obliged me to vest myself with the supreme authority, and that I held myself responsible to the country for its due exercise. Those circumstances have not varied ; since there is still in Peru a foreign enemy to combat, and, consequently, it is a measure of necessity, that the political and military authority should continue united in my person.

“ I hope that, in taking this step, I shall have the justice done me to have it believed, that I am not influenced by any ambitious views, but solely by such as conduce to the public good. It is abundantly notorious that I aspire to tranquillity alone, and to retirement from so agitated a life : but I bear upon me a moral responsibility which requires the sacrifice of my most earnest desires. Ten years of experience in Venezuela, Cundinamarca, Chili, and the united provinces of the river Plate, have taught me to know the evils which flow from

the ill-timed convocation of congresses, while an enemy still maintains a footing in the country. The first point is to make sure of independence; and afterwards to think of establishing solid liberty. The religious scrupulousness with which I have kept my word in the course of my public life, gives me a right to be believed; and I again pledge it to the people of Peru, by solemnly promising, that the very instant their territory is free, I shall resign the command, in order to make room for the government which they may be pleased to elect. The frankness with which I speak ought to serve as a new guarantee of the sincerity of my intentions.

“ I might have settled things in such a manner that electors, named by the citizens of the free department, should point out the person who was to govern until the representatives of the Peruvian nation might be assembled: but as, on the one hand, the repeated and simultaneous invitations of a great number of persons of high character and decided influence in this capital, make me certain of a popular election to the administration of the state; and as, on the other hand, I have already

obtained the suffrages of those places which are under the protection of the liberating army, I have deemed it more fitting and decorous to follow an open and frank line of conduct, which ought to tranquillize those citizens who are jealous of their liberties.

“ When the time comes in which I shall have the satisfaction of resigning the command, and of giving an account of my actions to the representatives of the people, I am certain they will not discover, during the period of my administration, any of those traits of venality, despotism, and corruption, which have characterized the agents of the Spanish Government in South America. To administer strict justice to all, by rewarding virtue and patriotism ; and to punish vice and sedition wherever they may be found, is the rule which shall direct all my actions whilst I remain at the head of this nation.

“ It being conformable, therefore, to the interests of the country, that a vigorous government should be appointed to guard it from the evils which war, licence, and anarchy, might produce,

“ I declare as follows :

“1^{mo}, From this day forwards the supreme political and military command of the free departments of Peru shall be united in me, under the title of Protector.

“2^{do}, The Minister of Foreign Affairs shall be Don Juan Garcia del Rio, Secretary of State.”

(And so on with the other officers of government.)

“Given in Lima, 3d August 1821, Second Year of the Liberty of Peru.*

(Signed) “JOSE DE SAN MARTIN.”

I am tempted to insert another proclamation which appeared on the following day, and which is characteristic not only of the writer, but of those distracted times. It gave the poor Spaniards a shock from which they never recovered: indeed, from the hour it was published, they dated the death of their hopes, and one and all seriously prepared to quit the country. Such an effect,

* The Era of the Liberty of Peru commences with 1820; as it was in that year the Patriots first landed and proclaimed the Independence.

most probably, San Martin wished to produce, for he knew the Spaniards too well to believe they could ever cordially associate with the natives on equal terms, under a free government, independent of Spain

“PROCLAMATION addressed to the European Spaniards.

“I have promised to respect your persons and property : I have fulfilled that promise, and none of you can as yet doubt my word. Nevertheless, I know that you murmur in secret, and that some of you maliciously propagate the idea that my intention is to abuse your confidence. My name is too celebrated for me to stain it with a breach of my promises, even where, as a private individual, it might be supposed I should be justified in doing so.

“However, I now finally publish the following articles, to confirm the guarantees which I have formerly given :

“1st, Every Spaniard, who, confiding in the protection of my word, continues peaceably in the exercise of his industry, swearing to the Independ-

ence of the country, and respecting the new government and the established laws, shall be protected in person and property.

“ *2d*, Those who do not confide in it are to present themselves, within the space of time formerly pointed out, to request their passports, and are to leave the country with all their moveable property.

“ *3d*, Those who remain, professing their confidence in government, and at the same time secretly working against it, as I have information that some do ; shall feel the whole rigour of the laws, and shall be deprived of all their possessions.

“ Spaniards ! You know well the state of public opinion to be such, that, even amongst yourselves, there is a great number who pry into and observe your conduct. I know whatever passes in the most retired corners of your houses. Tremble, if you abuse my indulgence ! Let this be the last time I shall remind you that your destiny is irrevocable, and that you ought to submit to it, as the only mode by which you can reconcile your interests with those of justice.

“ Given in Lima, the 4th of August 1821.

(Signed) “ SAN MARTIN.”

Such being the extraordinary state of affairs in Lima, I regretted much that my orders rendered it necessary for me to leave this part of the coast, at the very moment when the interest of the political scene was at the highest. I wished, above all, to have seen the effect of these two decrees, respecting the policy of which the opinions of the inhabitants were much divided. It would also have been peculiarly interesting to have marked the progress of improvement under the new system. The necessity of our departure, however, prevented our doing so; and we were thus made to feel one of the severest drawbacks on the pleasures of a naval life. We have undoubtedly great opportunities of seeing distant places, sometimes at moments of extraordinary public interest, and generally without the difficulties encountered by other travellers. We have also the advantage of being everywhere well received, as our situation is an universal introduction to the confidence and hospitality of the inhabitants. On the other hand, our means are always much cramped by want of time, our thoughts being necessarily taken up with a variety of duties having no reference to the

interesting parts of the scene. Thus it frequently happens, as on this occasion, that, during our stay, we are too busy to remark properly what is passing; and that we are called away just at the moment when the interest is greatest, and when a traveller, whose time was at his own disposal, would determine to remain. Indeed, it was often matter of regret to us, that all record of so many interesting and important events should be lost, for want of a disinterested spectator having leisure to note them down as they occurred.

San Martin certainly did wisely to assume the supreme command, circumstanced as he was, especially with an enemy's force still in the country. Under whatever name he might have chosen to mask his authority, he must still have been the prime mover of everything; for there was no individual in the country who had any pretensions to rival him in talents, or who, admitting that he possessed equal talents, could hope to gain so completely the confidence of the army, and of the Patriots. It was more creditable to assume the full authority in a manly and open manner, than to mock the people with the semblance of a Re-

public, and, at the same time, to visit them with the reality of a despotism. He knew from personal experience, the mischief attending the precipitate establishment of free representative governments in South America : he was also aware, that previous to raising any enduring political superstructure, he must gradually clear away the prejudice and error which overspread the land, and then dig deep into the virgin soil for a foundation. At this time there was neither knowledge nor capacity enough amongst the population to form a free government ; nor even that love of freedom, without which free institutions are sometimes worse than useless ; since, in their effects, they are apt to fall short of expectation ; and thus, by their practical inefficacy, contribute to degrade in public opinion the sound principles upon which they rest.

Unfortunately also the inhabitants of South America are apt at first to mistake the true operation of such changes ; and to conceive that the mere formal establishment of free institutions will at once ensure their being duly understood and enjoyed, whatever may have been the state of so-

ciety antecedently. That a taste for liberty will eventually spring up with the judicious establishment of free institutions, and with the power to enjoy civil rights, is unquestionable : the mistake lies in supposing, that this will take place immediately. With this taste will come the ability to take further advantage of the opportunities for asserting these valuable privileges, and of securing them by corresponding institutions. In process of time, mutual confidence, and mutual forbearance, which it was the narrow policy of the former government to discourage, will of course be developed ; and society will then act in concert and consistently, instead of being as heretofore like a rope of sand, without strength or cohesion.

In a pamphlet just published (June 1824) by Iturbide, Ex-Emperor of Mexico, there occur many just reflections on this subject. The following observations are much to the present purpose : “ To think that we could emerge all at once from a state of debasement, such as that of slavery, and from a state of ignorance, such as had been inflicted upon us for three hundred years, during which we had neither books nor instruc-

tors, and the possession of knowledge had been thought a sufficient cause for persecution; to think that we could gain information and refinement in a moment, as if by enchantment; that we could acquire every virtue, forget prejudices, and give up false pretensions, was a vain expectation, and could only have entered into the visions of an enthusiast."

At the time I left Lima, to return to Valparaiso, in Chili, which was on the 10th of August, the Royalist army, under the Viceroy La Serna, having proceeded some way to the southward, had struck into the interior, in order to join the other divisions of the army under Generals Cantera and Caratalá in the valley of Jauja, a district in which the rich silver mines of Pasco are situated.

The Viceroy's ultimate intentions were not known; but it was supposed that after recruiting his army, he would return upon Lima, with a view to expel San Martin: a project he was the more likely to undertake, as the Castle of Callao, an impregnable fortress, was still under the Spanish flag. It became, therefore, of great importance to San Martin to gain possession of it, and he put in

motion every engine of strength or policy in his power to accomplish this vital object : and at the time I left Peru, well-grounded hopes were entertained of its speedy surrender.

Meanwhile Lima was in a strange state of confusion. The effects of the shock which society had received by the abrupt nature of the revolution, could not be expected to subside for some time ; while the incongruity of the materials of which it was composed offered an effectual bar to real cordiality. The Old Spaniards, feeling themselves to be objects of suspicion and distrust, would willingly have retired from a place where they were considered as intruders. But this was not so easily accomplished, without incurring such losses as overbalanced the danger and discomfort of remaining. Most of them had large capitals embarked in commerce : many had considerable property in the country ; many also had wives and families in Lima, or were otherwise bound to the soil ; and it became a severe sacrifice to leave their present enjoyments, for the uncertain security held out by Spain, at that moment not in a much quieter state than the colonies. Their best and surest

policy would have been to follow the fortunes of the country, and to engage heartily in the new cause. But this was too much to expect from men bred up in the very hot-bed of monopoly and prejudice; and there were consequently few Spaniards who did not look to the return of the Royal army with great anxiety; and still fewer who placed any real confidence in San Martin, or who took sufficient pains to conceal their dislike. This led afterwards to a series of despotic measures on the part of the Protector, by which nearly all the Spaniards were ruined, and eventually banished from the country.

With respect to society, the most conspicuous traits which the extraordinary nature of the times developed, were a constant apprehension of further change, and an engrossing selfishness; feelings, natural enough, perhaps, during the panic which at first overspread the city; but which ought to have subsided when the immediate danger was gone, and a new and secure system established. It was quite otherwise, however; and the reason may be, that the Limenians, long pampered by luxury and security, and now for the

first time fairly awakened to the real miseries and dangers of life, could not all at once acquire the faculty of balancing motives, or of distinguishing what was useful and secure in their new state, from what was ruinous or degrading. In short, the circumstances to which they had been suddenly brought were so totally new, that, considering all things, their selfishness and alarm were very excusable. As these feelings were not confined to any one class, but pervaded the whole, social intercourse was at an end; and we took leave of Lima, for the second time, without much regret. We had now seen it in all the miseries of a siege, and again in all the distraction and exultation of the first moments of a revolution, before anything had settled into its proper station, and before confidence had again sprung up, in place of the universal distrust which preceded the catastrophe.

CHAPTER VII.

VIEW OF THE STATE OF THE SPANISH COLONIES BEFORE
THE REVOLUTION.

THE interest inspired by the present political state of South America has thrown its former condition somewhat into the shade. It will be useful, however, now that we have witnessed the last struggle for power made by the Spaniards, to take a general view of the colonial system, which the Revolution has abolished; that it may be seen what the grievances really are from which the inhabitants have been relieved. Every writer who has treated of South America furnishes numberless details of the monstrous abuses which affected those countries: but the following sketch is confined chiefly to a general view of the most prominent features of the old administration, il-

illustrated by a few well authenticated anecdotes, selected not so much on account of any peculiar point or interest in themselves, as from their serving to show the general temper and spirit of the policy by which the government of Spain was actuated, in her administration of the colonies.

The Spanish American possessions were considered, in law, from the time of the conquest, as integral parts of the monarchy, not as colonies of the mother country : they were held in fief by the crown in virtue of a grant from the Pope ; and their affairs were supposed to be regulated, not by the government of Spain, but by the King, assisted by a special board, named the Council of the Indies. A separate code of laws also was established expressly for them, called the Laws of the Indies. America, then, was nominally independent of the Spanish nation ; and upon this principle, the South Americans, after Ferdinand's imprisonment by Buonaparte, claimed an equal right with Spain to name Juntas to regulate their affairs, in the absence of the King, their only legal head. At a moment such as that alluded to, this argument had some force and utility ; but,

of course, South America was always virtually governed by the ministers of Spain.

The country was divided into viceroyalties, captain-generalships, intendencies, and various other subdivisions. Each separate government was independent of the others, but all were immediately under the King and the Council of the Indies.

Without going into minute details, it is sufficient to state, that the principle on which the colonial government rested was, that no single department should be allowed to act without being checked by some other: a principle weak and ruinous, as it demonstrated a total want of confidence in the executive officers; and by virtually depriving them of responsibility, yet still exacting obedience, took away the highest and most effective motive to the performance of their duty. The Viceroy was nominally controlled by a body called the Audiencia, the members of which were European Spaniards, who were not allowed to hold lands, or to marry in the country. The Audiencia has the privilege of remonstrating with the Viceroy, and of corresponding directly with the

Council of the Indies. But any beneficial effect which this might have had in protecting the people, was counteracted by the inordinate power of the Viceroy, and their consequent means of influencing the Audiencia, and every other subordinate authority, civil, military, judicial, or ecclesiastical.

In free estates administered by a representative body, and when men are allowed to act and think for themselves, the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the constitution, are easily kept separate by the essential distinctions in their nature. But in states arbitrarily governed, it invariably happens that these totally distinct functions either clash or blend themselves with one another, and mutually neutralize their respective good effects. In order, as it was pretended, to remedy the constant mischief arising out of this practical inefficiency, the number of official authorities in every department of the state was multiplied beyond all example; for every new office required afterwards a dozen others to watch it. The original complexity of the machine was thus daily augmented by the introduction of these

wheels within wheels, and its operative effect became less and less.

It is perfectly clear that no system of government can be effective, as far as the public prosperity is concerned, if it be not perfectly understood by those whose conduct it is intended to control. This is true even where the intentions of the rulers are honest, and have for their sole object the wealth and happiness of the people. But when the object is the reverse of this, and when the welfare of the country is studiously repressed, there cannot be conceived a more efficacious plan to perpetuate its degradation. The evil was immensely aggravated also by the manner in which this unintelligible system was constituted. Every individual composing it was a stranger in the land, born in a distant country, and had no fellow-feeling, nor common interest with the inhabitants. Neither worth nor talents were thought of in nominating to these appointments, the colonial offices being sold in Madrid, and the proceeds, at one time, made no inconsiderable item in the royal revenues. "All public offices," says the manifesto of Buenos Ayres, "and employ-

ments, belonged exclusively to Spaniards ; and although Americans were equally called to them by the laws, they were appointed only in rare instances, and even then, not until they had satiated the cupidity of the court by enormous sums of money. Of one hundred and seventy Viceroys that have governed this country, only four have been Americans ; and of six hundred and ten captain-generals and governors, all but fourteen have been Spaniards. The same took place in every other post of importance ; and even amongst the common clerks of office, it was rare to meet with Americans." This was a most grievous oppression ; but the chief evil which resulted from it consisted not so much in the absolute loss sustained by them, in consequence of their exclusion from stations of profit and honour, as in the moral degradation consequent upon the absence of all motive to generous exertion, and the utter hopelessness that any merit could lead to useful distinction.

This exclusion did not stop with official preferment, but pervaded every branch of the state : the Spanish government, not content with tying

up the hands of the Americans, and forcing them to be idle and vicious ; extended this tyranny even to the mind, and forbade the cultivation and exercise of those faculties which, least of all it might be thought, ought to be subjected to the control of despotism. Not only were agriculture and the arts, and manufactures and commerce, prohibited to the natives of the soil ; but literature, and every species of useful knowledge, was rigorously interdicted. To secure this exclusion, the inhabitants were forbid, upon pain of death, to trade with foreigners, none of whom were allowed to visit the country : Spaniards themselves could not set foot in the colonies without special permission, and for a limited time ; and even the inhabitants of the different provinces were denied, as far as it was possible, all intercourse with one another, lest by mutual communication they should increase their knowledge.

The difficulty of governing distant countries with justice, and with due consideration for the rights and happiness of the inhabitants, is familiar to the mind of every one who has studied our own Indian politics ; where, with the purest

intentions of doing everything for the best, innumerable artifices and anomalous provisions encumber the executive administration ; and render the system utterly unintelligible to the natives. Were the same system in the hands of the crown, without being, as at present, administered by a number of individuals of all parties, and, comparatively speaking, indifferent to political power and patronage ; there can be little doubt that its practical operation would soon prove destructive of the happiness of the Indian population, even were the intentions of the political authorities at home ever so virtuous. If this be true, with our representative government, and with the numerous constitutional checks which arrest the undue exercise of authority at every turn, how much more must it have been in the case of South America ? With us, public opinion, as is universally allowed, is the best safeguard of the happiness of India, and of the permanence of our authority. But in South America, where principles of government diametrically opposite prevailed, the instant public opinion was allowed to exert its in-

fluence, the authority of the parent state was at an end.

In proportion to the apprehension which the Spaniards felt that the presence of strangers might lessen their authority, they enforced their prohibitory laws with rigour. When the Spanish General Morillo captured Carthagená, he seized all the British and foreign merchants, threw them into dungeons, and would unquestionably have shot them all, for a breach of the laws of the Indies, had it not been for the timely interference of the British Admiral on the West India station. It was a capital crime, according to that code, for any foreigner to enter the Spanish dominions without a licence. An apprehension of the resentment of other nations has generally prevented the enforcement of the law to its utmost extent : but the same end was, perhaps, more effectually served by the most barbarous imprisonments. In Mr Robinson's interesting Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution, many curious anecdotes are given, which show the pertinacious and vindictive determination with which these regulations were enforced. Mr Robinson's cruel confinement of

two years and a half, for no other crime than having been found in the country without a licence, is an ample commentary on the whole subject.

“The dungeon in the Castle of San Juan de Ulua, in which he was confined, was fourteen feet under the arches of the castle, and a faint gloomy light was admitted by a small grating at the top.” One of his fellow-prisoners, a citizen of the United States, had the skin of his leg chafed by the iron. “From the want of dressings and wholesome aliment, the sore rapidly increased. The irritation and pressure of the iron caused the flesh and muscles to become completely ulcerated to the bone, and the whole leg became a mass of putrefaction. Unavailing were his petitions to have his irons taken off; though his groans and excruciating agonies, at length, so far arrested the attention of his keepers, that he was removed to the hospital. The physician, on examining the horrid state of the leg, immediately addressed a representation to the Governor, stating, that unless the irons were removed, death would inevitably ensue. Upon the margin of the memorial, the Governor wrote the following inhuman reply, and sent it to the officer

of the guard : ‘ Que los lleva, mientras respira.’ — ‘ Let him wear them while he breathes.’ — In a few hours this victim of Spanish barbarity died.”*

Sometimes the intruders were sent to Spain, after being long confined in the colonial prisons, and from thence were remitted to Ceuta, in Africa, after which they were seldom heard of more. Sometimes they were sent as convicts to Malaga, and other Spanish ports, where they were forced to work in chains. By these and other means, the spirit of the laws of the Indies was most rigorously enforced, and it required an extraordinary combination of favourable circumstances, and the stimulus of the most powerful motives of interest and patriotism, to free the country from their baneful influence.

It may naturally be asked, what possible motive could give birth and permanence to so unwise and so wicked a system as this ? It was no other, than that Spain alone, and her sons, should de-

* Robinson’s Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution, Vol. I. page 313.

rive the whole wealth of the country, without allowing to the Americans themselves the smallest participation, or even the slightest hope of ever participating in those riches.

That evil must spring out of principles and practices so repugnant to the laws of our nature, might have been anticipated. The re-action, indeed, which we have witnessed upon Spain herself, was inevitable ; and in the decay and final ruin of the mother country, we distinctly recognize a severe but merited retribution for the injuries cast upon the colonies. The enormous colonial patronage which the court possessed completely crushed the liberties of the mother country ;—the ill-gotten money which came to it from America, not being the produce of Spanish industry, passed off to other countries, without leaving a trace of national wealth behind,—and the restricted commerce which was intended to benefit the Peninsula alone, destroyed her credit, ruined her manufactures, and finally lost her the market of the colonies.

To accomplish the base, selfish, and short-sighted purpose alluded to, the clumsy device of

degrading the whole population of South America was the only one which suggested itself to the cupidity of the Spaniards. And to ensure the permanence of a system so liable to revulsion, the whole country was covered with active and experienced agents, deeply interested in the maintenance of the same order of things. Humboldt has ascertained, that there were no less than three hundred thousand Old Spaniards in the colonies. Every art also was used to prevent the increase of population, by collecting the people together in towns, where, besides being more easily controlled by the military, they were prevented from forming establishments, and augmenting their wealth; as they unquestionably would have done, had they been allowed to spread themselves over this fertile country, wherever their tastes or interests should direct them. Agriculture, indeed, was not allowed to extend itself; and even so late as 1803, when Humboldt was in Mexico, orders were received from Spain to root up all the vines in the northern provinces, because the Cadiz merchants complained of a diminution in the consumption of Spanish wines. I was informed at

Tepic of a measure precisely similar having been a few years before actually carried into effect in New Galicia, in the case of some extensive and flourishing tobacco-plantations. The Americans were prevented, under severe penalties, from raising flax, hemp, or saffron. The culture of the grape and olive were forbidden, as Spain was understood to supply the colonies with wine and oil. At Buenos Ayres, indeed, they were allowed to cultivate grapes and olives, but by special permission, and only in sufficient quantity for the table.

Precisely in the same spirit, colleges were not allowed to be founded, though permission was earnestly applied for by the inhabitants, and, in many instances, even schools were prohibited. A well-known Spanish minister observed, that a knowledge of reading and writing was quite enough for an American; and King Charles the Fourth said, he did not think it proper that information should become general in America.

In the manifesto published by the Constitutional Congress of Buenos Ayres, in October 1816, these grievances are forcibly drawn. "It

was forbidden," they state, "to teach the liberal sciences; we were only permitted to learn the Latin Grammar, the philosophy of the schools, and civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. The Viceroy, Don Joaquim Pino, gave much offence by permitting a nautical school at Buenos Ayres, and in compliance with a mandate of the court, it was shut; while at the same time, it was strictly prohibited to send our youth to Paris for the purpose of studying the science of chemistry, in order to teach it on their return."

The change in this respect brought about by the Revolution, is one of the most remarkable circumstances which have attended that great event. Schools have been established in all parts of the country, where the actual presence of the war has not rendered it impossible: and the thirst for knowledge and instruction formerly described as having no existence, has proved to be quite universal. The following extract from a Mexican newspaper, called *El Sol*, or the Sun, is interesting, on more accounts than one:—

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"LANCASTERIAN SCHOOL.

"The managers have the satisfaction to inform the subscribers of the said school, that the place appointed for its commencement is one of the halls of the abolished (extinguida) Inquisition, which is now under preparation as a school-room. It is therefore necessary that the subscribers present their children, or those whom they think fit to recommend, to Don Andres Gonzalo Millan, master of the first class, (the director named by the patrons of the school,) who lives in No. 2, Manrique Street, in order that they may be duly classed, and informed of the day of meeting.

"The subscribers will send, in a similar view, the children of poor people also, who wish to be admitted; giving to each child a ticket to certify his being entitled to admission. If, in eight days from the publication of this notice, the full number of children have not been presented by the subscribers, the managers will fill up the vacancies at their own discretion.

"Mexico, Wednesday, the 29th March 1822."

As an important branch of the executive go-

vernment, it may be mentioned, that the exactions in the shape of taxes, tithes, and duties, were levied with a degree of severity unknown in any country, except, perhaps, in Spain. The duties on the precious metals at the mouth of the mine, though latterly much reduced, by the impossibility of collecting the nominal amount, were, to the last hour of Spanish authority, a great and formidable impediment to industry. Tobacco, salt, gunpowder, and quicksilver, were close royal monopolies, the effect of which exclusion was not only to prevent the people from having an adequate supply of these articles, even at an immensely augmented price, but to deprive the government of a large revenue, which they might have obtained by a wiser system.

The horrible Alcavala, the most vexatious of taxes, as it is levied *ad infinitum* upon every transfer of goods, pressed heavily upon all classes. Nothing escaped the tithes, and every individual in the country was compelled annually to purchase a certain number of the Pope's bulls, under a penalty of forfeiting various important advantages. A man, for instance, who had not in his

possession the “Bula de Confesion,” could not receive absolution on his death-bed ; his will became invalid, and his property was confiscated.

Every stage of legal proceedings was in the most deplorable state that can possibly be conceived. The administration of justice, which, even in the best regulated governments, is so liable to delay and individual hardship, had, in South America, scarcely any existence whatever. There were forms enough, and writings enough, and long imprisonments without number ; but I never yet met a single individual, either Spaniard or American, in any of those countries, who did not freely admit, that substantial justice was in no case to be looked for, even where the government had no interest in the event. What chance any one had when his cause involved a political question, it is needless to say. Imprisonment, that bitter torture, was the grand recipe for everything :—“Sir,” said a man to me, who knew well, from long experience, what it was to be engaged in a South American law-suit, “they put you into prison, whatever the case be—they turn the key, and never think more of you.” At the capture of

Lima, the dungeons were found filled with prisoners long forgotten by the courts, and against whom no charge was upon record. The following extract from the *Biblioteca Americana*, No. 3, (a periodical work recently published in London,) puts this branch of the subject in a strong light :—

“ In America, as well as in Spain, there were collected together, in obscure, humid, and infected dungeons, men and women, young and old, guilty and innocent ; the hardened in crime, along with those who had erred for the first time ; the patriot and the murderer ; the simple debtor with the most determined robber—all were confounded together. The filth—the wretched fare—the naked ground—the irons—were all in South America the same, or even worse than those of Spain. The *Alcalde*, generally taken from the dregs of the people, was a kind of Sultan ; and his satellites, so many bashas, to whose severe and capricious decrees the unhappy prisoners were compelled to submit, without appeal. It is impossible to paint in colours sufficiently vivid the miseries to which all prisoners were subjected, or the inhumanity with which they were treated by their

keepers. They were stripped of everything,—deprived of all motive to exertion,—occasionally put to the torture, to confess imaginary crimes,—and in all the prisons corporal punishment was allowed. Such was the state of the prisons all over South America during the dominion of the Spaniards. A Chilian writer, since the Revolution, describes with great energy the pernicious effects of this system in that country. ‘Among us,’ he says, ‘a man was imprisoned, not that he might be improved, but that he might be made to suffer,—not that he should work, but that he should learn idleness,—not as a useful warning to others, but to shock their feelings. On visiting a prison, we beheld several hundreds of men in rags, or entirely naked,—their countenances withered away, so that they were more like spectres in chains than men: they trembled at the presence of the insolent alguazil, who struck and insulted them. We examined the food of these miserable wretches, worn to skeletons, and it proved such as the lowest beggar in the streets would have rejected with disgust.’”

In Lima, where the population was upwards of

seventy thousand, there were only two small prisons ; and the want of room aggravated the other miseries of the captives beyond all conception. But the most horrible of all prisons was invented in Lima during the viceroyalty of Abascal. “ These were subterranean dungeons, constructed in such a manner that a man could not place himself in any natural position whatever. Many persons, victims of despotism, were confined in these holes for years ; and when at length let out, it was only to bewail their own existence, being rendered useless and helpless for the rest of their lives ; crippled, and liable to acute pains and diseases, of an incurable nature.” The public gave the name of little hells (*infiernillos*) to these places, and they were allowed to exist in Lima fully a year after the Spanish Constitution had been proclaimed. I was in Lima at the time they were abolished, by a public decree, dated the 19th of December 1821. San Martin, on the 15th of October 1821, visited the prisons of Lima in person, accompanied by the judges and other public officers, who furnished a list of all the prisoners, with an account of the crimes alleged against them. He listened patient-

ly to what each prisoner had to say, and at once ordered a great number to be liberated, who had been wantonly placed there, without any sufficient charge,—directed proper provisions in future to be supplied to those who remained,—and appointed a commission, who were ordered to hear and determine the whole of the cases within the space of twenty days, though many of them had been standing over for several years. The most admirable regulations were afterwards established respecting the prisons of Lima.*

The commercial system was in strict character with all the rest of this extraordinary mass of misgovernment. The old principle, that the colonies existed only for the benefit of the mother country, was acted up to completely. The sole objects thought of were to gather wealth into the hands of Spaniards, by abstracting the riches of South America; and to take care that the Americans neither supplied themselves with any article which

* The article entitled “Sobre Carceles,” in the *Biblioteca Americana*, is well worthy of the attention of any person interested in these subjects.

Spain could possibly produce, nor obtained these supplies from any but Spaniards. No South American could own a ship, nor could a cargo be consigned to him ; no foreigner was allowed to reside in the country, unless born in Spain ; and no capital, not Spanish, was permitted in any shape to be employed in the colonies. Orders were given, that no foreign vessel, on any pretence whatever, should touch at a South American port. Even ships in distress were not to be received with common hospitality, but were ordered to be seized as prizes, and the crews imprisoned.

The capture of Lima has put the Patriots in possession of many curious state papers, some of which have been published, reflecting much light on the details of the colonial system. Amongst these is a curious extract from the report of the proceedings of Don Teodoro de Croix, Viceroy of Peru and Chili, between the years 1784 and 1790, drawn up by himself for the use of his successors. He gives at great length, and with as much importance as if the whole Spanish colonies depended upon it, an account of an American ship from Boston, having touched at the Island of Juan

Fernandez, in distress. She had lost, it appears, one of her masts, sprung her rudder, and had run short of water and fire-wood. The Viceroy states, that the governor of the island sent off to the vessel, and, on discovering her to be in great distress, and that she had no cargo on board, after some hesitation as to what was the proper line of conduct on such an occasion, decided to act hospitably ; (se habia decidido por la hospitalidad ;) and having allowed her to repair her damages, and to take in wood and water, permitted her to sail. “ In my answer to the governor,” adds the Viceroy, “ I expressed my displeasure for the bad service which he had rendered to the king, in allowing the strange ship to leave the port, instead of taking possession both of her and the crew, and giving an account of his having done so to his immediate superior, the President of Chili, whose orders he ought to have waited for. I expressed my surprise that the governor of an island should not know that every strange vessel which anchored in these seas, without a licence from our court, ought to be treated as an enemy, even though the nation to which she belonged should be an ally of

Spain. This is in conformity to the Royal Ordinance of the 25th November 1692. And I gave orders, that if the ship should appear again, she should immediately be seized, and the crew imprisoned. I also wrote to the Viceroy of New Spain, to give him an account of this transaction, and to recommend him to look out for the ship in question. Finally, I desired a complete statement of the whole affair to be transmitted to his Majesty."

The President of Chili, it seems, wrote to the Viceroy to justify the governor of the island for what he had done, on the ground of an existing treaty between the two countries, by which the Spaniards were bound to give succours to vessels in distress, together with a Royal Ordinance in the laws of the Indies to the same effect. The Viceroy, however, true to the spirit of the commercial regulations, replies to the president's representation, by again calling his attention to the above Ordinance, and reprimanding him and the Audiencia, for not having wit enough to see that the treaty and the article alluded to in the laws of the Indies were meant to apply solely to his Ca-

tholic Majesty's dominions, ports, and coasts, north of the Americas ; in which regions alone foreign powers had any territories ; and “ not at all to the coasts of the South Sea, where they neither have, nor ought to have, (*ni tienen ni debentener*,) any territories requiring their ships to double Cape Horn, or to pass through the Straits of Magellan or Le Maire.” The Viceroy further reports, that this affair of the Boston ship induced him to send, with all due circumspection, (*con la reserva conveniente*,) repeated cautions, and orders to the intendants and other officers along the whole coast of Peru, “ not to allow any foreign vessel whatever to anchor ; and that, should any one enter the port, the local authorities were sagaciously and carefully to use every artifice to take possession of her and of the crew. And,” he adds, “ lest the strangers should demand supplies, and threaten to use force, the cattle and other articles in the neighbouring farms, which might afford relief to them, are to be carried off to the interior upon these occasions.” He also desires that sentinels and look-out men be placed on all the hills overlooking the coasts, in order that immediate

information may be given of any vessel appearing. "I had again occasion to repeat these cautions," says the Viceroy, "in consequence of having received intelligence from a Spanish vessel, lately arrived at Callao, that an English ship had been seen in lat. 50° south, giving herself out to be in search of whales."

Had Spain been engaged in the hottest war with America and England, measures more hostile could not have been taken. And it gives not a bad picture of the feverish jealousy with which the colonies were guarded, when we see the single arrival of a dismasted American ship, producing a commotion along the whole coast of New Spain, Peru, and Chili; and when the accidental rencontre of a Spanish ship with an English whaler, at the distance of thirty-eight degrees of latitude, is considered sufficient cause of alarm by the Viceroy of Peru, to induce him to send orders to the authorities on the coast from Guayaquil to Iquique, to redouble their vigilance in watching for strangers.

This curious and characteristic example, though it be not one which shows the immediate interfe-

rence of the government with the happiness of the Americans, discloses the real extent of that jealous and cruel system, upon which the Spanish government proceeded in all that related to the wants of the colonists, for whom they never, for a single instant, seem to have had the slightest consideration.

The sole purpose for which the Americans existed, was held to be that of collecting together the precious metals for the Spaniards. If the wild horses and cattle, which overrun the country, could have been trained to perform the same office, the inhabitants might have been altogether dispensed with, and the colonial system would have been perfect. Unfortunately, however, for that system, the South Americans, notwithstanding the net-work of chains by which they were enveloped, had still some sparks of humanity left, and, in spite of all their degradation, longed earnestly for the enjoyments suitable to their nature ; and finding that the Spaniards neither could nor would furnish them with an adequate supply, they invited the assistance of other nations. To this call the other nations were not slow to listen ;

and, in process of time, there was established one of the most extraordinary systems of organized smuggling which the world ever saw. This was known under the name of the contraband or forced trade, and was carried on in armed vessels, well manned, and prepared to fight their way to the coast, and to resist, as they often did with effect, the guarda costas, or coast blockades of Spain. This singular system of warlike commerce was conducted by the Dutch, Portuguese, French, English, and latterly by the North Americans. In this way, goods to an immense value were distributed over South America, and although the prices were necessarily high, and the supply precarious, that taste for the comforts and luxuries of European invention was first encouraged, which afterwards operated so powerfully in giving a steady and intelligible motive to the efforts of the Patriots, in their struggles with the mother country. Along with the goods which the contraband trade forced into the colonies, no small portion of knowledge found entrance, in spite of the increased exertions of the Inquisition, and church influence, aided by the redoubled vigilance of government,

who enforced every penalty with the utmost rigour. Many foreigners, too, by means of bribes and other arts, succeeded in getting into the country, so that the progress of intelligence was gradually encouraged, to the utter despair of the Spaniards, who knew no other method of governing the colonies but that of force, unsupported by the least shadow of opinion, or of good will.

How long it might have been before this slow importation of knowledge, and this confined degree of intercourse with foreigners, if unaided by other causes, would have stimulated the Americans to assert their birth-right, it is very difficult to say. Unforeseen circumstances, however, brought about that revolution, in some parts of the country perhaps premature, which has recently broken their chains, and enabled them, by a display of energy altogether unlooked for, even by themselves, to give the lie to those cruel aspersions cast on their national character by their former rulers.

The operation of unrestricted trade is certainly the most conspicuous and striking result that has followed upon the new order of things. But the

action of a free press, or of a press comparatively free, is not much less remarkable. It displays itself chiefly in the form of newspapers, which start up in every corner where the ancient authority has been removed. These papers treat not only of the news, and of the political discussions of the day, but their columns are often filled with translations from French and English works, heretofore rigorously prohibited. A vast number of pamphlets also are scattered over the country; many of which, it is true, consist of local and transitory topics; but there are many others which contribute essentially, by means of original essays, as well as translations from foreign works of acknowledged excellence, to enlighten the minds of the people. Occasional abuses of this liberty have occurred; but, upon the whole, it is truly surprising to see how discreetly this formidable weapon has been handled by persons quite untrained to its use.

It was originally my intention to have related, at this place, some circumstances within my own knowledge, illustrative of the effect which a perversion of the Roman Catholic religion has had

upon the society ; and I was the more inclined to take this course, from a strong persuasion that both the principles and the manners of the South Americans have received their deepest stain from this source.

In preparing the materials, however, for this exposition, the task proved at once revolting and ungracious ; and, after some hesitation, it was decided to forego the effect which it might produce in supporting this view. I felt, indeed, unwilling to incur the risk of shocking the feelings of many who may agree with me in thinking, that it is scarcely possible to treat such a subject in detail—and by details alone can it be done effectually—without a painful and needless degree of indelicacy. It is sufficient to mention, that, in the practice of the Catholic religion, all its dignity, and much of its utility, have been lost—the minds of those subjected to its perverted institutions, and disgusting forms, have been debased beyond all example—and moral principles, also, and domestic manners, have been, in consequence, scandalously outraged in practice. Fortunately, however, the real character and dispositions of the Ameri-

cans, are rational and docile ; and there is every reason to expect, in consequence of all that has resulted from the Revolution, that the eyes of the great mass of the population are now fully opened to a due perception of these abuses, which not only limited their own social happiness, but, by degrading them in their own opinion, rendered the work of oppression a task of comparative ease and certainty.

I have said nothing of the treatment of the Indians, because I cannot speak from personal observation of their present state, compared with the past. In every instance, however, the new governments have abolished the oppressive poll-tax, and all forced services. Decrees have been published in all the new states, formally including the Indians among the number of free citizens, and repealing the laws by which they were rendered ineligible to offices of trust, or to appear as witnesses in a court of justice.

Now that all classes of men are allowed to settle where they please, the population will spread itself over the country and rapidly increase ; and the Indians will soon find it their interest to con-

nect themselves with the settlers, and friendly alliances will be formed, greatly to the advantage of all parties. The motives, indeed, to industry, and to improvement of every kind in South America, are innumerable; and the intellectual expansion which, according to every principle of human nature, may be expected to take place, when the weight of tyrannical authority is entirely removed, baffles all calculation: it must, however, be prodigious—and perhaps the present military excitement, and the exclusive occupation with which it furnishes every class, may not be so great a misfortune as it is sometimes supposed. It may contribute eventually to the more tranquil establishment of the country, by giving the inhabitants time to reflect and act deliberately, instead of rushing at once and unprepared, from a state of slavery, into the full exercise of civil liberty.

Notwithstanding all the faults which have been enumerated in the colonial administration of South America, it cannot be denied that great or lasting benefits have been conferred upon that country by its European masters.

At the period of the conquest, the whole popu-

lation were in a state of comparative barbarism. Their knowledge was confined to a few rude notions of agriculture ; their forms of government were inartificial, despotic, and cumbersome ; they were acquainted with none of the arts or sciences ; were possessed of no literature ; in their habits and customs, indeed, they were little better than savages ; and their religion, if so it can be called, was a blind idolatry, rendered still more revolting by the practice of human sacrifices.

Christianity has long since happily annihilated the worst of these evils ; for although there remain a few tribes of Indians yet unconverted, the cruel rites alluded to have no longer any existence. Along with the knowledge and the industry which the Europeans brought with them, there was introduced a more refined system of manners, and of moral habits. Under the influence of established laws, aided, perhaps, by the general use of an elegant and copious language, and an increasing intercourse with the rest of the world, the states of South America were gradually elevated to the rank of civilized nations. Higher motives to action, consequent upon improved tastes, naturally

gave birth to those arts and luxuries of life which ministered to the new wants of the successive generations of settlers, who thus silently but steadily advanced the country to its present condition.

Large and beautiful cities were built ; sea-ports, guarded by strong fortresses, were constructed along the coasts ; roads of communication united the different provinces, and rendered even the ridges of the Andes passable ; while mines of gold and silver poured their treasures over the whole world. Along with the improvements in agriculture came the rich productions of other lands, such as wheat and barley, the vine and the olive, the great importance of which to the grateful soil of a new country has been so well illustrated by the divine honours paid in early times to those persons by whom they were originally introduced into Europe.

In addition to these gifts, to which South America owes her plentiful harvests, the conquerors brought over the horse, the cow, the mule, the sheep, the hog—all of which, though formerly unknown, now abound beyond all example elsewhere.

The civil institutions of the country, too, with all their defects, are infinitely superior to the rude establishments of the aboriginal inhabitants. And it may therefore be said, with strict historical truth, that for all those advantages by which civilization is distinguished from barbarism,—Christianity from Paganism,—knowledge, in short, from ignorance—this vast portion of the globe must for ever stand indebted to the Spaniards.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHILI.

CRUISE TO THE SOUTH COAST OF CHILI, TO INQUIRE INTO THE PROCEEDINGS OF BENAVIDES THE PIRATE.

ON the 1st of October 1821, we sailed from Valparaiso for Conception, the frontier town on the coast, at the distance of two hundred and twenty miles to the southward. Our object was to discover what had become of certain English and American seamen lately made prisoners by a piratical chief of the name of Benavides, whose head-quarters were at Arauco, the capital of an unconquered Indian district of the same name. It is situated on the coast opposite the Island of St Mary's, one of the stations to which American and English ships repair to catch seals, and recruit their stock of wood and water. Benavides had,

in the first instance, succeeded in entrapping the American whaling-ship *Hero*, which he surprised in the night-time ; and, with the boats and arms of his prize, he contrived to capture two other American vessels, the *Ocean* and *Herselia*, and finally, the English whale-ship *Perseverance*.

The history of Benavides is curious. He was a native of Concepcion, and served, for some time, in the Chilian army, from which he deserted to the Royalists, but was retaken at the battle of Maypo in 1818. He was of a ferocious character, and as, in addition to the crime of desertion, he had committed several murders, he was sentenced to death, along with his brother and other delinquents. Accordingly, the whole party were brought forth in the Plazo of Santiago and shot. Benavides, who, though terribly wounded, was not killed, had sufficient fortitude to feign himself dead. The bodies being dragged off, were left without burial to be destroyed by the Gallinazos, a species of vulture. The sergeant who superintended this last part of the ceremony was personally inimical to Benavides, for murdering some of his relations ; and to gratify

his revenge, drew his sword, and while they were dragging the body of his foe to the pile, gave it a severe gash across the neck. The resolute Benavides bore this also, without flinching, and lay like a dead man amongst the others, until it became dark; he then contrived to extricate himself from the heap, and in a most miserable plight crawled to a neighbouring cottage, the generous inhabitants of which received and attended him with the greatest care.

General San Martin, who was at that time planning the expedition to Peru, and was looking about for able and enterprising individuals, heard of Benavides being still alive; and knowing his talents and courage, considered him a fit person to serve some of his desperate purposes in those trying times, when, to gain the great objects in view, there was little scrupulousness about the means. It is even said that the bold ruffian himself gave information of his being alive, and invited San Martin to hold a secret conference at midnight, in the centre of the great square of Santiago. The appointed signal was to strike fire from their flints three times; a mark suffi-

ciently conspicuous for the purpose of distinction, yet of a nature calculated to excite no suspicion. San Martin accordingly, alone and provided with a brace of pistols, went to the spot, where he encountered Benavides similarly armed. After a long conference with the desperado, whom he finally engaged in his service, he settled that Benavides should, for the present, serve in the Chilian army, employed against the Araucanian Indians in the south; but should be ready to join the army in Peru, when the expedition sailed. This was ill judged in San Martin; for Benavides soon quarrelled with the Chilian General, and once more changed sides, offering his services to the Indians, who were delighted to obtain so brave and unrelenting an associate. In a short time, his experience and congenial ferocity gave him so great an ascendancy amongst this warlike race, that he was elected Commander-in-chief. He soon collected a respectable force, and laid waste the whole of the Chilian frontier, lying along the right bank of the great river Biobio, to the infinite annoyance of the Chilians, who could ill afford troops, at that moment, to repel these in-

roads; nearly the whole resources of the country being required to fit out the expedition against Peru.

Benavides, taking advantage of this favourable moment, augmented his authority amongst the Araucanians, by many successful incursions into Chili; till, at length, fancying himself a mighty monarch, he thought it becoming his dignity to have a fleet as well as an army. Accordingly, with the help of his bold associates, he captured several vessels. The first of these was the American ship *Hero*, which he surprised in the night, as she lay at anchor off the coast. His next prize was the *Herselia*, an American brig, which had sailed on a sealing voyage to New South Shetland, and after touching there, had come on to the Island of St Mary's, where she anchored in a small bay exactly opposite to the town of Arauco, the well-known scene of many desperate contests between the Old Spaniards and the unconquered Indians of that territory.

While the unconscious crew were proceeding, as usual, to catch seals on this island, lying about three leagues from the main land of Arauco, an

armed body of men rushed from the woods, and overpowering them, tied their hands behind their backs, and left them under a guard on the beach. These were no other than the pirates ; who now took the *Herselia's* own boats, and going on board, surprised the captain and four of his crew, who had remained to take care of the brig ; and having brought off the prisoners from the beach, threw them all into the hold, closing the hatches over them. They then tripped the vessel's anchor, and sailing over in triumph to Arauco, were received by Benavides with a salute of musketry, fired under the Spanish flag, which it was their chief's pleasure to hoist on that day. In the course of the next night, Benavides ordered the captain and his crew to be removed to a house on shore at some distance from the town ; then taking them out one by one, he stripped and pillaged them of all they possessed, threatening them the whole time with drawn swords and loaded muskets. Next morning, he paid the prisoners a visit, and having ordered them to the capital, called together the principal people of the town, and desired each to select one as a servant. The captain and four

others not happening to please the fancy of any one, Benavides, after saying he would himself take charge of the captain, gave directions, on pain of instant death, that some person should hold themselves responsible for the other prisoners. Some days after this they were called together, and required to serve as soldiers in the pirate's army ; an order to which they consented without hesitation, knowing well, by what they had already seen, that the consequences of refusal would be fatal.

About a month afterwards, Benavides manned the *Herselia* brig, partly with his own people, and partly with her original crew, and dispatched her on a mission to the Island of Chiloe, to solicit assistance from the Spanish authorities there. The brig was placed under the command of the mate, who was given to understand, that, if he betrayed his trust, the captain and his other countrymen would be put to death. This warning had its effect : the brig went and returned as desired ; bringing back a twenty-four-pound gun, four six-pounders, and two light field-pieces, with a quantity of ammunition ; besides eleven Spanish offi-

cers, and twenty soldiers ; together with the most complimentary and encouraging letters from the Governor of Chiloe, who, as a good and loyal Spaniard, was well pleased to assist any one who would harass the Patriots, without thinking it his business to inquire very strictly into the character and habits of his ally. Shortly afterwards, the English whale-ship *Perseverance* was captured by Benavides ; and in July, the American brig *Ocean*, having on board several thousand stand of arms, also fell into his hands. The *Ocean* was bound, it was said, from Rio de Janeiro to Lima, but running short of water and fuel, had put into the Island of St Mary's, where she was surprised and taken during the night. This great accession of ships, arms, and men, fairly turned the pirate's head ; and from that time, he seriously contemplated the idea of organizing a regular army, with which he was to march against Santiago ; while his fleet was to take Valparaiso : thus Chili was to be reconquered without loss of time. He was thwarted a good deal, however, in the outset, by the difficulty of making the sailors useful ; one of the hardest tasks in the world being that of

converting Jack into a soldier. The severity of his discipline, however, struck such terror into the seamen's minds, that he not only made them handle a musket, and submit to the drilling and dressing, practices utterly repugnant to their habits, but, for a time, entirely stopped desertion. He first put the captain of the *Perseverance* to death for having attempted to escape ; and some time afterwards, having caught one of the seamen who had deserted, he inhumanly ordered the poor fellow to be cut to pieces, and the mangled body to be exhibited as a warning to the others.

Benavides, though unquestionably a ferocious savage, was, nevertheless, a man of resource, full of activity, and of considerable energy of character. He converted the whale spears and harpoons into lances for his cavalry, and halberts for his sergeants ; and out of the sails he made trowsers for half his army : the carpenters he set to building baggage-carts, and repairing his boats ; the armourers he kept perpetually at work, mending muskets, and making pikes ; managing, in this way, to turn the skill of every one of his prisoners to some useful account. He treated the officers,

too, not unkindly, allowed them to live in his house, and was very anxious, on all occasions, to have their advice, respecting the equipment of his troops. Upon one occasion, when walking with the captain of the *Herselia*, he remarked, that his army was now almost complete in every respect, except in one essential particular ; and it cut him, he said, to the soul, to think of such a deficiency : he had no trumpets for the cavalry ; and added, that it was utterly impossible to make the fellows believe themselves dragoons, unless they heard a blast in their ears at every turn ; and neither men nor horses would ever do their duty properly, if not roused to it by the sound of a trumpet ; in short, he declared, some device must be hit upon to supply this equipment. The captain, willing to ingratiate himself with the pirate, after a little reflection, suggested to him, that trumpets might easily be made out of the copper sheets nailed on the bottoms of the ships he had taken. “ Very true,” cried the delighted chief ; “ how came I not to think of that before ?” Instantly all hands were employed in ripping off the copper, and the armourers being set to work un-

der his personal superintendence, the whole camp, before night, resounded with the warlike blasts of the cavalry.

It is difficult to conceive how this adventurer could have expected his forced auxiliaries, the Americans and English, to be of much use to him in action ; for he never trusted them even on a march without a guard of horsemen, whose orders were to spear any one who attempted to escape : in this way he afterwards carried them many a weary league over the country.

The captain of the ship, who had given him the brilliant idea of the copper trumpets, had, by these means, so far won upon his good will and confidence, as to be allowed a considerable range to walk in. He, of course, was always looking out for some plan of escape ; and at length an opportunity occurring, he, with the mate of the Ocean, and nine of his own crew, seized two whale boats, imprudently left on the banks of the river, and rowed off. Before quitting the shore, they took the precaution of staving all the other boats, to prevent pursuit, and, accordingly, though their escape was immediately discovered, they succeed-

ed in getting so much the start of the people whom Benavides sent after them, that they reached St Mary's Island in safety. Here they caught several seals, upon which they subsisted very miserably till they reached Valparaiso.

It was in consequence of the report of Benavides's proceedings made to Sir Thomas Hardy, the Commander-in-chief, by these persons, that he deemed it proper to send a ship, to rescue, if possible, the remaining unfortunate captives at Arauco. I was ordered on this service ; and the senior officer of the squadron of the United States having no ship to spare at that moment, I was directed to use equal exertions to liberate the seamen of that nation. The captain and mate of the *Herselia*, who had recently escaped, offered me their services as pilots, and I was afterwards much indebted to them for their zeal and local knowledge.

It ought to have been mentioned before, that Benavides sometimes, when it suited his purpose, affected to call himself a Spanish officer, and often hoisted a Spanish flag ; though, in general, he carried colours of his own invention, as chief of

the Araucanian nation, and totally independent of Spain. The circumstance of his sometimes calling himself a Spaniard, together with his having received assistance from Chiloe, made it rather delicate ground for neutrals to tread on, and I was instructed to avoid any measures likely to embroil us with the contending parties ; but to recover the seamen, if possible, without offending either.

As the wind, at this season of the year, blows almost constantly from the southward, the passage from Valparaiso to Concepcion was very tedious ; for, though the distance was little more than two hundred miles, it occupied us seven days before we came in sight of the high lands over the town. As we approached the shore we were cheered with the appearance of hills wooded from top to bottom, a sight to which we had long been strangers. The Bay of Concepcion is a large square inlet, open on the north, while the south and the west sides are formed by a high promontory jutting out from the main land, and bending into the shape of an elbow ; each side being three or four leagues long. Talcuhuana, a miserable town, with a di-

lapidated fort, is the sea-port of Concepcion ; and occupies the south-western angle of the square. The present city lies a league further inland, about five or six miles distant from Talcahuana.

We found in the harbour a ship from Lima, full of Chilian Royalists : unhappy people who had emigrated to Peru, when their country had been rendered independent by the arms of San Martin. Being followed to Lima, by their evil genius, they had resolved to return to their native place ; and throw themselves on the mercy of their countrymen the Patriots. These poor people, strangers in their own land, had found, as they expected, their possessions in the hands of others, and scarcely knew whither to bend their steps.

I landed with one of the midshipmen, intending to ride to Concepcion, and on the beach met the captain of the ship which had brought the passengers. I had known him in Lima a most staunch Royalist, and was amused to find him here transformed into just as staunch a Patriot. The truth is, that he, like many others we met with, whose sole object was gain, cared very little

for either side ; and though he had the art to seem thoroughly in earnest in his politics, never thought seriously of anything but of his freight. He introduced us to the Governor of Talcahuana, who received us with a stateliness of manner, worthy of the insignificance of his situation ; and when we spoke to him about horses, said very pompously, he would most gladly use his influence to get us mounted. In the meantime, we strolled over the town and decayed fortifications, lately, we were told, in perfect repair ; but the rains are here so hard, that exposure to a few wet seasons soon demolishes any work not built of stone. On returning to the Government-house, we found no horses, nor could we hear any tidings of our obliging friend his Excellency the Governor. We therefore cast about for some other assistance, and at last, tired of waiting, walked into a house, where we observed a gentleman reading, and some ladies sitting at work. We sat down and chatted for some time with them, and on communicating our distress, the worthy master of the house being pleased, as he said, with our attention in visiting him, and gratified, perhaps, by the attention we

paid to his good lady, who was neither young nor handsome, said he would lend us his own horses, whispering mysteriously in our ears at the same time, that the governor's offer was merely un chasco—a humbug!

Talcahuana is described in books as being strongly fortified; and it certainly is capable of being rendered very formidable; but the works have been allowed to go to decay, and all that now remains is a ditch of no great width or depth. Over this is thrown a drawbridge, which we crossed on horseback in fear and trembling, lest it should break down. The sentinel who guarded it was a rough, half-dressed, donkey boy, who staggered under the weight of a musket, on the lock of which we read the word TOWER.

After passing the barrier, we rode over a swamp of some length, along a hard, well-made road, which brought us to some low grassy hills, from which we had a fine view of the country. In the interior, the mountains were clad in the richest verdure; with many extensive and beautiful openings, exposing to view banks of rich grass and long vistas in the forests, varied by masses of light and

shade ; the whole prospect bringing to our recollection some of the most carefully managed park scenery of England. The scale, it is true, is here somewhat more extensive, although the resemblance is equally striking when the landscape is examined in detail.

These reflections led us to question our guide as to the causes of the deserted appearance of so magnificent a country. He was an intelligent man, and gave a melancholy account of the destructive wars, of which this country had been the theatre for some years past : first, when the Chilians were struggling against the Spaniards for their liberty, and lately between the Chilians and the Araucanian Indians, under the outlaw Benavides. Sometimes one party were masters of the country, sometimes the other ; but to the poor inhabitants it mattered little which ; since both armies drove away the cattle and the sheep, and not unfrequently the inhabitants themselves, burning their dwellings, destroying their enclosures, and laying the whole country waste.

In the course of our ride we passed over many leagues of country, once evidently covered with

habitations, but now totally deserted, and all the cottages in ruins. Rich pastures, and great tracks of arable land, of the finest quality, were allowed to run to weeds ; without a single individual to be seen, or a cow, or a sheep, or, indeed, any living thing. The absence of peace and security had thus in a few years reduced this fertile country to a state of desolation, as complete, for all the purposes of life, as that of the deserts on the coast of Peru.

When we came within half a league of the town of Concepcion, we first saw the great river Biobio, at that place about two miles wide, and flowing past in a majestic manner. From a neighbouring height could be traced the windings of this grand stream for many leagues up the country, till lost sight of amongst the mountains. The town of Concepcion, even at a distance, partook, in its appearance, of the character of the times ; for the churches were all in ruins, and the streets in such decay, that we actually found ourselves in the suburbs before knowing that we had reached the town ; so complete had been the destruction. Whole quadras, which had been burnt down and

reduced to heaps of rubbish, were now so thickly overgrown with weeds and shrubs, that scarcely any trace of their former character was distinguishable. The grass touched our feet as we rode along the footpaths, marking the places of the old carriage-ways. Here and there parts of the town had escaped the ravage, but these only served to make the surrounding desolation more manifest. A strange incongruity prevailed everywhere: offices and court-yards were seen, where the houses to which they had belonged were completely gone; and sometimes the houses remained, in ruins indeed, but everything about them swept away. Near the centre of the town, a magnificent sculptured gateway attracted our attention. Upon inquiry, we found it had been the principal entrance to the Bishop's Palace, of which there was not a vestige left, although the gateway was in perfect preservation. Many of the houses which did remain were uninhabited; and such is the rapidity with which vegetation advances in this climate, that most of these buildings were completely enveloped in a thick mantle of shrubs, creepers, and

wild-flowers, while the streets were everywhere knee-deep in grass and weeds.

The Plaza, or great square, generally the resort of a busy crowd, was as still as the grave. At one end stood the remains of the cathedral, rapidly crumbling to dust; the whole of the western aisle had already fallen in, and the other parts, built of brick, and formerly covered with polished cement, stood bare, and nodding to their fall. A solitary peasant, wrapped in his poncho, stood at the corner of the square, leaning against the only remaining angle of the cathedral; and in a dark corner, amongst the ruins of the fallen aisle, were seated four or five women round a fire cooking their meat by hanging it in the smoke over the embers.

In some of the smaller streets there were many more people; for the town, though stripped of its wealth and importance, was not altogether depopulated. The few remaining inhabitants had drawn together for mutual support and consolation in these sorrowful times. The children were almost all handsome, and had the appearance of belonging to a fine race: unlike their parents, they were unconscious of the evils by which their

country had been overwhelmed, and though doubtless often hungry and cold enough, looked as happy and merry as their elders were despondent and miserable.

The governor received us courteously, and gave us all the information he possessed. Accounts, he said, had been received of Benavides having crossed the river Biobio at a place called Monterey, twenty-five leagues above Concepcion. He had marched upon Chillan, a town about thirty leagues off, in a N.N.E. direction; and had with him thirteen hundred followers, including the English and American seamen taken at Arauco. A considerable force, he told us, had recently marched from Concepcion, and succeeded in getting between Benavides and the river Biobio; there being also a well-appointed force in Chillan, it was next to impossible, he thought, that the outlaw could now escape. Benavides, it seemed, never gave quarter, but the governor assured me that, as the Chilians did not retaliate, the seamen incurred no danger on this account. I was anxious to engage some Indian messenger, to communicate either with the pirate himself, or with

his captives ; but the governor drew up at this, and expressed some surprise at my thinking it either proper or possible to negotiate with this desperate outlaw, who was, he said, little better than a wild beast, and approachable only by force.

As correct information respecting the further proceedings of Benavides would probably reach the local government in the course of a couple of days, I determined to wait for the courier, and to employ the interval in examining the Bay of Conception. An officer was accordingly sent with boats, to survey and sound all the different anchorages, while the ship proceeded to several small ports lying round the bay. The first of these was Penco, a town built on the site of the old city of Conception, which was swept away by a great wave, that accompanied the earthquake of 1751. When the city was to be rebuilt, a more inland situation was chosen, but as it stands at present on low ground, it is questionable whether an earthquake wave of any magnitude might not still reach it. As we had heard of coal being in this district, we engaged a guide to show us where it was to be found, and had not walked a mile into the coun-

try before we reached some excavations at the surface of the ground, from which the coal is worked without any trouble. The seam is thick and apparently extensive, and might, probably, with due care and skill, be wrought to any extent.

In the course of our walk to the coal-pits, we fell in with an intelligent native, who offered himself as our guide, and interested us a good deal, by his account of the past and present state of the country. He had been cattle-keeper, he said, to a farmer, and, at one time, had charge of two hundred beasts ; but that his master had not one left, and was now as poor as himself. His master's fields had formerly produced many thousand fane-gas (150 lb.) of wheat, which had served to maintain a considerable population. " But," added he, " the fields are now grown up with long grass ; all the enclosures, and all the houses gone ; the cattle entirely driven off ; and the inhabitants dispersed, no one knows where. Who will rear cattle, or sow grain, if not sure of the herd, or the harvest ? and so," added he, " it will continue till these sad wars and incursions are put a stop to, and property be made secure ; for nobo-

dy will remain, even in this fertile and beautiful country, in such times as the present." The correct feeling which this rude peasant displayed for the natural beauties of his native spot was very remarkable, for he was never tired of expatiating on the picturesque graces of the landscape ; and was perpetually calling our attention, as we walked along, to some new and more pleasing aspect which the scenery had assumed. He was so much delighted with our admiration of his country, that he forgot, in our praises of its beauty, the calamities under which it was labouring ; and having, probably, rarely met with such sympathy before, he scarcely knew how to thank us for our companionship in sentiment.

The natives of the southern provinces of Chili have always been described as a bold and hardy race of men ; but they are not so warlike as their southern neighbours, the Indians of Arauco, who, though often conquered in single battles, were never completely subdued by the Spaniards. Whenever a judicious president happened to be at the head of the government of Chili, a treaty was generally entered into between that state and

the Araucanians ; but, although these alliances proved invariably advantageous to both parties, the next governor would, in all probability, go to war ; considering it unworthy to remain on good terms with a set of savages. From that moment, a miserable conflict was commenced of inroads on one side, and hard fighting on the other, equally mischievous to Chilians and Araucanians. These wars generally began by the Spanish disciplined troops entering the Indian territory, and possessing themselves of the capital, Arauco, and other towns ; but, ere long, they were always forced to retire before the bravery and numbers of the Indians ; who, in their turn, entered and laid waste the Chilian frontier, drove off the cattle, and dispersed the inhabitants, acting pretty much in the style of our Borderers of old. However spirited and romantic such a state of things may sound in poetical description, it is very melancholy to witness in real life. Indeed, while this poor peasant was detailing to us the ruin and misery which had befallen his country, from this profitless and barbarous system of warfare ; and when his narrative was confirmed by every cir-

cumstance around us, we felt somewhat ashamed of the lively and pleasing interest, with which we had recently listened to an account of the very same transactions, at a distance, and before we had witnessed the reality.

On returning to the beach, we were assailed by a number of little girls, six or seven years of age, each with a fowl in her arms, and all beseeching us to purchase. The children here are pretty, and their cheeks, unlike those of children between the tropics, chubby and rosy ; their hair, resembling that of their Spanish and Indian ancestors, is long, glossy, and black, hanging over their brows, till smoothed back by the hand, to disclose their still blacker eyes. When the little monkeys looked up in our faces and smiled, so as to show their beautiful white teeth and dimpled cheeks, there was no resisting the appeal ; and we bought a boat-load of poultry more than we had any use for.

We laid in a supply of coals and fire-wood at this place. The coals, which were brought for us to the beach, cost twelve shillings per ton, everything included. The fire-wood cost about four

shillings per carga of three hundred and sixty billets, two and a half feet long each, weighing 1300 lbs.

From Penco we sailed along the eastern side of the bay till we reached Tomé, a small snug cove in the most picturesque situation, surrounded by rocks and magnificent trees, with a little village at the upper corner, almost hid in the foliage. A party of us landed at some distance from the houses, to walk along the beach ; but we were soon benighted, and our course being interrupted by a creek, we were reduced to a considerable dilemma ; until the natives, hearing us shout to them for assistance, came in their canoes and ferried us over to the village, where a great crowd soon assembled to see the strangers, and to offer their timber for sale.

While our bargains about the logs of wood were going on, we turned to look at the moon, nearly at the full, which had just risen above the trees, accompanied by the planets Jupiter and Saturn ; and we were admiring the same scenery, now brightly illuminated, which we had passed through in the dark ; when one of the natives, somewhat

to our surprise, left his logs, and looking up, asked us what we thought of it; of course we answered, it was most beautiful. "Si Señores," replied he, quite delighted, "Resplandeciente!" as if he were not less struck than ourselves with the beauty of the sight. I mention the circumstance, as affording another instance, among these rude people, of a degree of taste and feeling for the beauties of nature, which we never met with in any other part of South America.

After purchasing the timber we bargained with a wild-looking Indian, who had joined the group, for a mule-load of wine, which he had brought in skins for sale. It was of good quality, though rather sweet, and cost about twopence halfpenny a bottle; exactly double the proper price, as we discovered afterwards. We bought seven logs of wood, each twenty-one feet long, and twelve inches square, for nine dollars, which is about five shillings each. The wood called *Line* was as good as ash, and answered well for building boats. We learned afterwards that we had paid about one-fourth too much. There was a great variety of timber for sale, adapted to different purposes, but

this, which was the dearest, appeared to be much the best.

The district of Concepcion, as far as natural advantages go, is much richer than any other part of Chili ; it possesses also a hardy and intelligent population, a delightful climate, and a soil of the most fertile kind, capable of producing the finest wheat, vines, olives, and the richest pasture : it is covered with extensive forests of valuable timber, contains coal in abundance, as well as freestone and limestone, close to the shore ; and besides being furnished with excellent ports, and numberless small streams, is intersected by a large river, navigable for upwards of a hundred miles. Notwithstanding all these advantages, it is almost entirely depopulated, and the whole country allowed to run to waste. It is to be hoped, however, that the spirit which animates the regenerated country will soon lead to some new system of political measures, either for the defence of this magnificent district against the inroads of the Indians ; or, what would be infinitely better, for making peace with them, on terms which would

render it their interest to preserve a lasting and cordial friendship with their neighbours.

On the morning of the 12th of October, authentic accounts arrived of Benavides having been defeated near Chillan, and his army dispersed, while he himself had escaped across the frontier accompanied only by a few followers. By the same opportunity, we were informed that the Chilean sloop of war Chacabuco, without waiting for the troops sent by land to co-operate with her, had made an unsuccessful attack upon the Indian capital Arauco.

Having previously obtained information, that two of the American seamen, captives with Benavides, had succeeded in escaping from his camp, and in getting on board the Chacabuco, I immediately proceeded in quest of that vessel, being most desirous of seeing these men, in order to learn the fate of their companions. Without some such information, it was obviously impossible to know where they were, or how to assist them. I therefore made the best of my way to the anchorage of Arauco, but, to my mortification, no vessel of any kind was there, and I proceeded on to

the southward, having reason to think the Chacabuco had gone in that direction. After two days search, I fell in with her at anchor between the mainland and the island of Mocha. This island is overrun by horses and pigs, both of which are used as fresh stock by the whaling and sealing ships in the Pacific.

The two American seamen were immediately sent to me, and it appeared from their statement, that when Benavides marched from Arauco a month before, he had left Mr Moison, captain of the brig Ocean, together with several American and English seamen, to fit out the ship Perseverance ; but that all the rest of the captives had been forced, at the point of the bayonet, to accompany the army. During the march they had been so strictly guarded by a body of cavalry, that it was not until after they had crossed the river Biobio, that an opportunity occurred for these two men to effect their escape, and after suffering many hardships to reach Conception. This information decided me to return immediately to Arauco, for the purpose of making an attempt to rescue Captain Moison and the seamen, should they still

be on the spot. I had little hope of success, indeed, since hearing of the Chacabuco's attack on the place; for it seemed probable, that, on that occasion, the prisoners would be sent off to the interior.

On entering the bay, I had the mortification to perceive, by various symptoms, that we were too late: for, on the bar of the river Toobool, which passes near the town, one of the prizes was in flames; behind the high grounds forming the harbour rose a great column of smoke, from another burning ship; and the town of Arauco itself was also on fire. All this showed that an attack had been made, and that the Indians had fled; since it is their invariable practice to burn their towns, and everything they cannot carry with them, whenever they are obliged to retreat. I anchored off the flaming town, late in the evening, and having communicated with the Chilian ships lying there, learned that the Araucanians, under one of Benavides's officers, had been attacked on that morning, but had speedily given way, and fled to the woods, after setting fire to the town and all the ships.

On the morning of the 19th of October I landed at Arauco, to make, if possible, some arrangement with the commander of the Chilian expedition, in the event of any of the prisoners effecting their escape, and reaching his camp. We found the head-quarters established in the centre of the capital, which had consisted of fifty-six houses, arranged in rows: nothing now remained but a number of black square marks, except where a few houses had been more substantially built than the rest. Part of the walls of Benavides's own house were still standing, but the rafters and the door-posts were burning on the floor when we visited it. On the walls we could see the names of some of the captives who had been confined there, traced with charcoal, or scratched with a knife. Captain Sheffield of the *Herselia*, who had accompanied us from Valparaiso, carried us through the town, where he had been so long a prisoner, and over the smoking ashes of which he looked with malicious satisfaction. This diminutive capital was about three hundred yards square, enclosed by a wall twelve feet high, and guarded by towers at two of the angles, with one of its sides

resting against a small steep hill, about a hundred and fifty feet in height. Though insignificant in size, it is nevertheless a classical city, and well known in Spanish song and history. It was from this place that the celebrated Valdivia made his last march, and it was afterwards the principal station of the great savage general, Lautaro. Arauco was often taken and retaken by the Spaniards and Indians in old times; and by a curious anomaly in the history of this country, these very Araucanians, who, for three centuries, have been fighting desperately, and not unsuccessfully, against the Spaniards in Chili; now, when the common enemy is driven out, and liberty proclaimed, take up arms under a renegade Spanish officer, and fight against the liberated Chilians.

On going to the top of the hill, we commanded a view of a country fully as rich in fine woods, lawns, and rivers, as that near Conception; and could not help lamenting, that the profuse gifts of Nature should be thus utterly wasted. The Chilian camp presented a very curious scene: the soldiers, on entering the town, had found, in the half-burnt store-houses, and in the cellars cut in

the rocks, various articles taken out of the prizes : some of them were loaded with plates, dishes, and cooking utensils ; others with books and charts. One man had got hold of a broken quadrant, which puzzled him exceedingly ; another was stirring up his fire with a long whale harpoon ; and one poor fellow came running up to us with a bundle of the Tract Society's publications, which he had just found ; but was greatly disappointed when we declined becoming purchasers.

Before I returned on board, the commander of the Chilian forces told me, that a party of Indian auxiliaries under his orders had that morning taken three Araucanian prisoners, two of whom they had deliberately put to death, and had sold the third to himself for four dollars. We expressed great horror at this anecdote ; but he said it was absolutely out of his power to control these Indians, who made it a condition of their service, that they should never be denied the privilege of cutting the throats of their prisoners. Besides these three prisoners, it appeared that there had been a fourth, a young woman, the wife of one of the men butchered in the morning. The com-

mandant, however, had accidentally omitted to tell me this circumstance, which I did not learn till late in the evening, after I had gone on board. He had, in vain, tried to prevail upon Peneléo, the Indian in command of the auxiliaries, to release her ; but this savage, after putting her husband to death before the poor woman's face, refused to give her up for a less ransom than thirty dollars—a sum which no one in the camp was willing to advance. It was provoking not to have heard of the circumstance during the morning, since, had she been liberated, she might have been employed to carry a letter to the captives I was in quest of, who, I had now no doubt, were removed into the interior by the Araucanians, when they fled to the woods.

20th of Oct.—I went on shore as soon as it was day-light, but my vexation and disappointment were extreme, on learning that Peneléo, with his troop of Indians, had set out on their return to Conception two hours before, taking the poor widow along with them. While we were speaking on the subject, a soldier who had met the Indians rode into the camp. On being in-

terrogated about the woman, in whose fate we began to take great interest, he said, she would probably never reach Conception alive, as he had heard Peneléo threaten, that, unless she left off crying, he would certainly kill her, as he had killed her husband the day before.

As Conception lay directly in our way to Valparaiso, I determined to call there, not only to concert some measures respecting the captive seamen, should they make their appearance, but also, if possible, to rescue this poor woman from the Indians. Accordingly, after waiting another day at Arauco, and seeing no hope of gaining intelligence of the prisoners, we sailed for Port St Vincent, a small secure harbour, not far from the bay, and rather nearer than Talcuhuana to the town of Conception. I lost no time in riding to the city, along with one of the officers, but our haste was needless, for we were stopped at the gate of the government-house by a domestic, who, closing his eyes, and reclining his head on one hand, whispered that his Excellency was taking his siesta, and could not be disturbed. Nothing, as all the world knows, puts a man more

out of humour than interrupting his siesta ; and, as we wished to solicit his favour for our countrymen, we thought it prudent not to urge the point on the attendants, who shuddered at the very thoughts of it. Meanwhile we strolled along the banks of the magnificent river Biobio, which washes the walls of the town. In our walk we observed many black-eyed dames, sitting rurally enough at their doors, spinning with distaff and spindle, while their children played about them in the street. They wore flowers in their hair in the Chinese fashion, and were dressed with great neatness : we found them quite willing to make acquaintance, and to chat with the strangers.

In process of time we saw the Governor, who obligingly allowed us to go to the Indian quarters ; but he smiled incredulously, and shook his head at our Quixotical project of rescuing the distressed damsel, saying it was quite useless to attempt treating with Peneléo, who had scarcely anything human about him.

We made our visit to the Indians at a most unpropitious hour, for they had just finished their dinner, and were all more or less tipsy. On our

entering the court-yard of their quarters, we observed a party seated on the ground, round a great tub full of wine; they hailed our entrance with loud shouts, or rather yells, and boisterously demanded our business; to all appearance, very little pleased with the interruption. The interpreter became alarmed, and wished us to retire; but this I thought imprudent, as each man had his long spear close at hand, resting against the eaves of the house. Had we attempted to escape, we must have been taken, and possibly sacrificed, by these drunken savages. As our best chance seemed to lie in treating them without any show of distrust, we advanced to the circle with a good-humoured confidence, which appeased them considerably. One of the party rose and embraced us in the Indian fashion, which we had learned from the gentlemen who had been prisoners with Benavides. After this ceremony, they roared out to us to sit down on the ground along with them, and with the most boisterous hospitality, insisted on our drinking with them; a request which we cheerfully complied with. Their anger soon vanished, and was succeeded by mirth and satisfaction.

which speedily became as outrageous as their displeasure had been at first. Seizing a favourable opportunity, we stated our wish to have an interview with their chief, upon which a message was sent to him ; but he did not think fit to show himself for a considerable time, during which we remained with the party round the tub, who continued swilling their wine like so many hogs. Their heads soon became affected, and their obstreperous mirth increasing every minute, we felt our situation by no means agreeable.

At length Peneléo's door opened, and the chief made his appearance ; he did not condescend, however, to cross the threshold, but leaned against the door-post to prevent falling, being, by some degrees, more drunk than any of his people. A more finished picture of a savage cannot be conceived. He was a tall, broad-shouldered man ; with a prodigiously large head, and a square-shaped bloated face ; from which peeped out two very small eyes, partly hid by an immense superfluity of black, coarse, oily, straight hair, covering his cheeks, and hanging over his shoulders, rendering his head somewhat of the size and shape of a bee.

hive. Over his shoulders was thrown a poncho of coarse blanket-stuff. He received us very gruffly, and appeared irritated and sulky at having been disturbed: he was still more offended when he learned that we wished to see his captive. We in vain endeavoured to explain our real views; but he grunted out his answer in a tone and manner which showed us plainly that he neither did, nor wished to understand us, and we were deterred from pressing the matter further, by the sight of his spear, which was within his reach: we had already heard too much of his habits to disregard his displeasure.

Whilst we were in conversation with Peneléo, we stole an occasional glance at his apartment. By the side of a fire, burning in the middle of the floor, was seated a young Indian woman, with long black hair reaching to the ground; this, we conceived, could be no other than the unfortunate person we were in search of; and we were somewhat disappointed to observe; that the lady was neither in tears nor apparently very miserable; we therefore came away impressed with the unsentimental idea, that the amiable Peneléo had al-

ready made some impression on the young widow's heart.

Two Indians, who were not so drunk as the rest, followed us to the outside of the court, and told us, that several foreigners had been taken by the Chilians in the battle near Chillan, and were now safe. The interpreter hinted to us, that this was probably invented by these cunning people, on hearing our questions in the court; but he advised us, as a matter of policy, to give them each a piece of money, and to get away as fast as we could.

On the 23d of October we sailed from Concepcion, and on the 26th anchored at Valparaiso.

About a fortnight after our return, we were greatly rejoiced by the arrival of Captain Moison, and the seamen, so long captives, and in search of whom we had been so ineffectually employed. As we had formerly conjectured, they had been removed to a considerable distance inland, when Arauco was attacked. It was very satisfactory, however, to learn, that all the prisoners had at last succeeded in making their escape, after the battle in which Benavides was routed near Chillan.

They had found their way to different parts of the coast, and, after many difficulties, had reached Concepcion, where they procured a passage in a ship coming to Valparaiso.

As the Conway did not again visit Chili, after leaving it at this time, I found some difficulty in discovering what had become of Benavides at last. Fortunately, however, I obtained possession of a Chilean Government Gazette Extraordinary, published officially at Santiago, which gives a history of the rise, progress, and close of his career.

I insert a translation of this document, as it is not only curious in itself, but shows the singular state of the Chilean frontier at that time; and helps also, in some degree, to fill up the foregoing incomplete sketch.

“SANTIAGO, SATURDAY, 23^D FEBRUARY 1822.

“*Public Vengeance!*

“Ye Chilians, who are interested in the glory of your country—and all ye who watch the conduct of the South Americans—know that the execution which you have witnessed to-day is nowise

derogatory to the punctiliousness (*delicadeza*) with which Chili has recognized the rights of all parties engaged in the war, so vigorously sustained by her against the pertinacious interference of the usurpers. This outlaw, whom you have seen executed, Vicente Benavides, son of Toribio, jailor in Quirihue, in the province of Concepcion, was a foot soldier in the Patriot army, and had attained the rank of serjeant of grenadiers at the time of our first revolution. He deserted to the enemy at Membrillar, and in the memorable action at that place under General Makenna, was taken prisoner, and was brought by the corps de reserve, along with the army, which were marching on that side of the river Maule, to be tried by a Court-Martial. Near the city of Linares, he set fire to a store-house and fled, taking advantage of the army making preparations for a vigorous night attack. He continued in the employment of the tools (*serviles*) of Ferdinand, until he was again taken prisoner on the glorious 5th of April 1818, on the plains of Maypo. He was kept as a prisoner until he was sentenced, by a military tribunal, to be shot as a deserter ; but having sur-

vived the execution in the most extraordinary manner, he presented himself to the General of the army, offering his services to dissuade the Indians and the other inhabitants on the southern bank of the river Biobio from lending themselves to the desperate and illegal war in which the Spaniards wished to engage them. His offer was accepted: passports were given him, and other documents relative to his commission. He went to the town of Los Angeles, and from thence to Nacimiento, where he persuaded Don Juan Francisco Sanchez, Commander of the Spanish troops, that he possessed ability to maintain the desolating war, which was about to cease on the southern frontier of Chili. The commander accordingly retired to Valdivia, leaving Benavides as Commander-in-chief of the whole frontier. He commenced his authority by a most scandalous action, decidedly against the laws of war. He attacked an officer of the name of Riveros, who commanded a party in the fort of Santo Juana, and took him prisoner, with fourteen soldiers who were saved from the bloody attack. It was deemed proper to propose to exchange for this officer

the wife of Benavides, then a prisoner in the city of Concepcion ; and for this purpose, Lieutenant Don Eugenio Torres was sent with a flag of truce. Benavides agreed to the proposition ; but his depraved disposition inspiring him with distrust, he detained the flag of truce and the soldiers, and sent back the officer Riveros alone. The officer of the advanced guard applied for Torres, who had borne the flag of truce, stating, that Benavides's wife had already been sent from the fort of San Pedro ; nevertheless, with an excess of ferocity, unheard of in this enlightened age, that very night he ordered the officer's throat to be cut who had brought the flag of truce, although he had actually supped in his company. The fourteen soldiers, who had been made prisoners, were also put to death on that night.

“ His subsequent proceedings were marked by a similar spirit ; even the instructions which he gave to the commanders of his guerrillas seemed to be written with blood, for, in them, he consigns to death ‘ every insurgent, whatever might be his offence ;’—orders which were executed with an exactness that characterizes these vile instru-

ments of cruelty. These murderous agents were in the habit of offering to the peaceable peasants the terrible alternative of following them, or of being put to death. They slaughtered children, women, and old men, to prevent information being given of the road they had taken, or of the mountain in which they had hid themselves. In the month of July 1820, when General Freire was passing through the Hacienda of Totoral, on the banks of the river Itata, a widow presented herself to him ; her husband, she said, had been killed a few days before, by the captain of a guerilla party, for having given information that the party had been in his house. Actions similar to this were innumerable, and quite notorious in the districts of Chillan and Rere. At a place called Cajon de Palomares, a party of the enemy found an old man of sixty years of age, his wife, his daughter, and three nephews, all poor people, and having robbed them of all they had, finished by murdering them ; their bodies were afterwards carried to the burying-place of Conception, in April 1821.

“ In this manner the contest was maintained

ever since the year 1819—very much in the manner that the war has been carried on by the Spaniards in all parts of South America.

“ Several times the intendant of Concepcion, Commander-in-chief of the army of the south, by authority of government, put the law of retaliation in force ; but with characteristic moderation, and with the sole view of repressing these violations of the laws of war. At other times this conduct was changed, and offers of pardon, approved by his Excellency the Supreme Director of the Republic, were made to those who should give themselves up ; and these promises were held sacred even with the most atrocious. The commanders and officers of the Chilian army were restrained from exercising the just resentment inspired by the fall of their companions, so inhumanly murdered ; but nothing could mitigate the insane fury of this monster, and his iniquitous associates, (inicos satelites.) He took prisoner in an action, on the 23d September 1820, Don Carlos Maria O’Carrol, and ordered him to be shot immediately. On the 26th, on the banks of the river Laja, he attacked three hundred men of the Coquimbo

battalion, No. 1, and some militia, which had been sent to reinforce the head-quarters; the action was so sharply maintained, that his dastardly person was in some danger. At eight o'clock next morning he addressed a despatch to Major-general Don Andres Alcazar, offering to spare the lives of all those who should give themselves up unarmed. It happened that this worthy veteran had run short of ammunition, and his people were worn out with fatigue; he therefore capitulated, giving up at once his arms and his life. The officers were immediately shot, without being allowed the consolations of religion; one person only escaped by accident, Friar N. Castro, of the order of Hermits. Major-general Alcazar, and Sergeant-major Ruiz, were then delivered over to the Indians, that they might be speared to death, along with three hundred families who had assembled on the island of Laja.

“ He lost no opportunity of destroying every town he came near, burning as many as he possibly could. And, not deeming all this sufficient to glut his insatiable disposition, he opened a communication with Carrera, one of the chiefs of

the anarchists, who was laying waste the province of Mendoza, and invited him to take a share in these devastations.

“He was at length defeated at Concepcion on the 27th of November 1820, upon which he proposed terms of peace, only for the purpose of being more perfidious. He sent the Presbyter Ferrebú with the despatch containing his proposals. His messenger, of course, enjoyed the immunity which the rights of war gave him, but, at the very same time, the chief who sent him took advantage of the moment, and ordered a squadron of horse to continue the hostilities. Eventually he threw off the mask of the King's authority altogether; since, when Brigadier Prieto informed him of the fall of Lima, upon which Benavides had formerly declared himself dependent, he displayed his true character in his answer: declared that he would make war against Chili to the last soldier, even if its independence were acknowledged by the King and the whole Spanish nation.

“It was natural that one crime should lead to others. He had either been accustomed to pay no

respect to the laws of nations, or he hoped to conceal those actions from his government: be this as it may, he did everything to establish the character of a pirate. He equipped a Corsair to cruize on the coast of Chili, giving the commander instructions to respect no flag whatever, 'and to put to death the crew of every insurgent vessel he should meet with, and of every vessel which he might even suspect to belong to insurgents.' By what law of war can this be justified?

"The situation of Arauco, so directly opposite the Island of Santa Maria, where vessels, having doubled Cape Horn, stop for refreshments, gave him an opportunity of capturing the ships Hero, Arsella, Perseverance, and another, exclusive of the boats belonging to ships which he could not take. These vessels were the property of the English and North Americans; the captains were shot secretly, and the crews were made to serve along with his troops. How came he to express so energetically in his confession, 'that these people had caused him an infinite deal of mischief?'—but it does not belong to Chili to inquire into this matter.

“ At length, in the end of December 1821, discovering the miserable state to which he was reduced, he entreated Brigadier Don Joaquin Prieto, Intendant of Concepcion, that he might be received, on giving himself up along with his partisans. This generous chief accepted his offer, and informed the supreme government; but, in the meantime, Benavides embarked in a launch at the mouth of the river Lebo, and fled, with the intention of joining a division of the enemy's army, which he supposed to be at some one of the ports on the south coast of Peru. It was, indeed, absurd to expect any good faith from such an intriguer, for, in his letters at this time, he offered his services to Chili, and promised fidelity, while his real intention was still to follow the enemy. He finally left the unhappy province of Concepcion, the theatre of so many miserable scenes, overwhelmed with misery which he had caused, without ever recollecting that it was in that province he had first drawn his breath.

“ His despair made his conduct in the boat insupportable to those who accompanied him; and they rejoiced when they were obliged to put into

the harbour of Topocalma in search of water, of which they had run short. On the 1st of this month, (February 1822,) he ordered a soldier to swim on shore to look for a supply. At daylight on the following morning, the tide admitted of his boat approaching the shore, when he landed under the pretext of procuring a messenger to carry despatches to the Supreme Director, which he said he had brought from Concepcion. He concealed his name, but the patriotic individuals, Don Francisco Hidalgo, and Don Ramon Fuensalida, proprietors of the neighbouring grounds, being informed who he really was, by the soldier who swam ashore the day before, arrested him on the beach.

“ From the notorious nature alone of his deeds, even the most impartial stranger would have condemned him to the last punishment; but the supreme government wished to hear what he had to say for himself, and ordered him to be tried according to the laws. It appearing on the trial that he had placed himself beyond the laws of society, such punishment was awarded to him as any one of his crimes deserved. As a deserter to the enemy he merited death—as a frequent vio-

lator of all military laws, he had forfeited every claim to be considered as a prisoner of war—as a pirate, and a barbarous destroyer of whole towns, it became necessary to put him to death in such a manner as might satisfy outraged humanity, and terrify others who should dare to imitate him. In pursuance of the sentence passed on the 21st of this month, he was this day dragged from the prison, in a pannier tied to the tail of a mule, and was hanged in the great square. His head and hands were afterwards cut off, in order to their being placed on high poles, to point out the places of his horrid crimes, Santa Juana, Tarpellanca, and Arauco.

“ By the sentence of the 21st, it had been directed that he should be executed on the 23d, thus expressly allowing him three days to avail himself of that religious consolation which this faithful vassal of his Most Catholic Majesty denied to General Alcazar, Don Gaspar Ruiz, Captain O’Carrol, to all the officers of the Coquimbo battalion, and to many others.

“ The generosity of free states is never to be found in the corrupted hearts of those who serve tyrants !

“ Every person, in the least acquainted with public rights, knows, that in war, the law of retaliation applies equally to both parties, and that Chili is at perfect liberty to make equivalent reprisals upon the domineering Spaniards, for their actions towards the Patriots. But his Excellency the Supreme Director, wishing to draw a veil over the past, has ordered that the rigour of the law be directed against Benavides alone ; and that the lives of his followers be spared, though justly forfeited : he also extends the same mercy to others, who, from holding communication with the outlaw, merited, if not the same, at least nearly the same punishment.”

This singular official document winds up with the following four lines, in prominent characters.

*Esos monstruos, que cargan consigo
El caracter infame, y servil
¿ Como pueden jamas compararse
Con los Héroes del cinco de Abril ?*

Those monsters, who bear about with them
A character infamous and servile—
How can they ever compare themselves
With the Heroes of the 5th of April ?

The 5th of April, being the anniversary of the battle of Maipo, which decided the fate of Chili, is an era introduced, naturally enough, on every possible occasion. The foregoing lines form a stanza of their most popular national song.

EXTRACT

From a Paper, called the "PACIFICADOR DEL PERU," published at San Martin's Headquarters.

(Translated at page 256, et seq.)

"La obra verdaderamente difícil, que es necesario emprender con valor, firmeza y circunspeccion, es la de corregir las ideas inexâctas que ha dexado el gobierno antiguo impresas en la actual generacion. No se crea que la dificultad consiste tanto en la ignorancia de los medios adecuados para conseguir aquel fin, quanto en la peligrosa precipitacion con que de ordinario intentan los nuevos gobiernos reformar los abusos que descubren. Empezando por la libertad, que es nuestro mas ardiente anhelo, ella debe concederse con sobriedad para que no sean inútiles los sacrificios que se han hecho por alcanzarla. Todo pueblo civilizado está en aptitud de ser libre ; mas el grado

de libertad que goze, debe exâctamente ser proporcionado á su civilizacion. Si aquella excede á esta, no hay poder que evite la anarquía : y si es inferior á lo que exîgen sus luces, es consiguiente la opresion. Si toda la Europa gozase la libertad del pueblo ingles ; la mayor parte de ella presentaria un caos de anarquia : y el pueblo ingles à su turno se creeria en la servidumbre, si en vez de su actual constitucion, fuese regido por la carta de Luis XVIII. Es justo que los gobiernos de América sean libres : pero es necesario que lo sean en aquella proporcion : el mayor triunfo para nuestros enemigos seria el que salièsemos de ella.

“ En todos los ramos de prosperidad pública, y aun en los que solo dicen respecto à la comodidad doméstica, hay grandes reformas que hacer. En general puede decirse sin riesgo de error, aunque con apariencia de preocupacion, que es preciso despojar nuestras instituciones y costumbres de todo lo que sea español, é infundir à nuestra constitucion política una nueva salud, para que resista sus enfermedades, segun la expresion que usò en otra oportunidad el memorable Lord Chatham. Pero como el hacer todas las reformas *ex abrupto* y sin

discrecion, es tambien un defecto español, en que actualmente están incurriendo las Còrtes, precipitando las variaciones religiosas y politicas que exìgia la península,—debemos precavernos de incurrir en él, y preparar gradualmente las mejoras à que está dispuesto el pais, y de que es tan susceptible por la docilidad y tendencia que tiene al adelantamiento de su carácter social.”

END OF VOLUME FIRST.



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